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AN
ESSAY
ON
CIVIL GOVERNMENT,
OR
SOCIETY RESTORED,

BY MEANS OF
I. A PREFACE OF PEACE,
II. A REFORM IN MATAPHYSICS,
AND
III. A POLITICAL CODE AND CONSTITUTION,
ADAPTED TO
THE TRUE NATURE OF MAN.

Translated from the Italian MS. of A. D. R. S.
WITH NOTES, BY THE EDITORS.

Où il s'agit de faire penser.

Montesquieu.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, NO. 1, YORK STREET,
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1847

OFFICE OF THE

SOCIETY RESTORED



IN A LETTER TO THE

THE YEAR 1847

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR

OF THE

LONDON

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, NO. 1, YORK STREET, LONDON

+ ADVERTISEMENT.

+ [AS this Letter, written to a former intended Editor, contains some observations on the subsequent work, it is thought proper to print them together. This publication has been attempted before. An account of the impediments, with the Author's remarks and adventures, &c. might furnish some curious *traits* of our present state of society, and may, perhaps, be worthy the future attention of the public. The observations of sensible foreigners upon us, we ought to esteem and consider. Those of this traveller might probably serve as a powerful call on the public attention towards the important objects of *Law, Constitution, Police, Education*;---to our striking deficiencies in these; and may, perhaps, have some effect, as well as this present work, on the public mind; and enforce the importance of teaching men to *think*;--to meditate and ascend to the causes of evil, and thence to the remedies: in short, to the present wretched state of human society, and thence to its gradual renovation, as here proposed, or in some such gradual and pacific manner.]

LETTER to Mr. J—, Bookseller.

S I R,

+ WE send you a work of a very superior kind and quality, translated from an Italian MS. of much novelty, originality, and truth of principle. The apparent novelty,
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indeed, of these principles, is a little equivocal, and rather shameful to modern wisdom; for they are, in fact, as old as history, at least. The work, small as you see it, contains much important matter; and being well suited to the times, may get into sale, and have great and salutary effects—as in calming the agitations of the general mind, and in promoting *thought* instead of ignorant enthusiasm, and having little or nothing to do with the prevailing parties or doctrines of the day, cannot bring you into any trouble or discredit with any of them: but may gain the assent and approbation of all the lovers of truth and virtue; a party which, though now small, may daily increase, and become the most important of all.

The author, now in this country, a man of merit, sets of course a high value on his work, but chuses to wait for a second edition before he puts his name to it. Though he has been these twenty years on the subject, he had of late years laid it aside, till these times seemed to call for it. He had an idea of publishing it in French, and distributing it *gratis* through Europe, and in the title page, *prix-rien, il est impayable*; but we have persuaded him from this as yet, and would rather have it first appear in this country. Some of our common friends, by your assistance, give us cause to hope that something *handsome* may be done for this ingenious author of so much truth and wisdom, and now a stranger in this land.

If this little work should be well timed, as we believe, and therefore proper to be published without loss of time, (indeed it should have appeared sooner) perhaps some explanation or apology might be thought necessary for some of the effects of hurry, and other circumstances, in translating, arranging, &c. if we did not know that a second edition may more effectually rectify all such trivial mistakes; and we know that the author will rejoice to see any questions or objections in the mean time produced, as may tend to the progress and discovery of truth. It may and doubtless will be improved, even on its present plan of throwing out briefly a few important principles for the public reason to work upon, leaving to future consideration and other able pens, to pursue the numerous consequences into completer system, and perhaps still more practical reform. A due sense of the importance of *practicability* is shewn in his fourth and last part;—in the Sketch of the Constitution, as an example to improve upon. Of
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only a few of the abstract principles of science or truth, the ways of application to practice may be numerous; we know they are important, and perhaps the first object after truth herself, or the basis on which she must stand.

Our author may, perhaps, require some apology with the philosophers for having admitted, in his Constitution, two distinct classes of people, and thence of distinction by birth, the worst of the three modes of distinguishing men in society, (viz. by birth, wealth, merit). This he thought, perhaps, a necessary bribe or concession, so as to fill up the general consent with that of the aristocracy; and may the more readily be granted, as even this small distinction would, probably, soon drop away into the real one of *merit*, in a well-regulated community; where all would soon feel the superior happiness of approaching and preserving the primitive quality of men, and universal justice; where even the few necessary distinctions by merit would only be such as are really requisite, in number and degree.

These moral and legislative subjects will now, probably, grow daily more in fashion, at least among the thinking part of mankind, and we hope you will continue to be a chief promoter of the true philosophic kind, though not of the incendiary; and will have the honour and satisfaction of being of real service and support to this most important of all the sciences, *legislation*. Other works of this kind will soon appear in different parts of the world. The public mind is every where fraught with the subject, and must deliver itself in some way; those who can direct it aright, will be of infinite service. Any attempt to stem or stop the torrent would be vain, folly, madness; unless considered as provoking discussion, and thence, perhaps, promoting the cause of truth. These smaller, abbreviated attempts have their uses, and may serve the important purpose of producing *thought* among some classes of men, as effectually as the enlarged and elaborate treatise in others. The comprehensive sketch is equally necessary with the analytical research: this, indeed, may be considered as partaking of both, and is evidently an attempt of the right kind, in search of the true principles, whatever may be its little errors or mistakes in arrangement or reasoning.

That the great moral subjects, of real importance to man, must soon supersede many of the trifling pursuits of

our *soi-disant* philosophers, was to be expected in the human progress; their task or career will then be properly arranged and assigned them, and be made to point more directly to the good of mankind. Real philosophy will now probably soon shew man the right road to his true happiness, in spite of all the arts of *usurpation*, which are generally but weakly founded; tottering or asleep on a basis of ignorance and over-security, till awakened by a fall, she is thence led towards wisdom and reform. The science of government will now inevitably become the object of general attention, and man will be taught to look *forward*, to what *he may become*; more than *backward*, into the chaotic follies of his ancestors, where the confused steps of this science are hardly worth the pains of tracing, much less of imitating, unless where they lead to first principles. Man can never return to what he has been. It can serve little more than some of the purposes of idle curiosity to examine the former histories and institutions of ignorant men; or to observe the best of them, soon after, spoiled by the more complicated and refined ignorance of successors; or the vices and ignorance of princes and those about them gradually increasing, and provoking discussion and opposition, till revolt and revolution complete the common cycle of human errors. Let man hope and endeavour to do better in future. In order to assist him, the following is certainly a laudable attempt. Though our legislative ignorance was of late shamefully great, and its removal seems still slow and difficult, yet happily the progress begins to be visible. We may now hope to see the minds of men gradually opened, enlightened, rectified, and taught to measure the *relative importance of objects*; and all our affected and more than suspicious dread of discussion may soon be ashamed or afraid to show its face. †

P R E F A C E.

UNINFLUENCED, I hope, by any of that blind and violent party spirit which seems now raging round the world; yet highly sensible of the numerous calamities which now threaten the human species; I wish to trace the source and origin of these immense and increasing evils that afflict them, and try to discover the remedy.

This must be within the reach of *man*, born with such powers and desires for the good of self and of his species. The period, big with the fate of perhaps the whole human race, seems to demand it, and to cry aloud to the directing head and hand of wisdom for the reform, or rather regeneration of society. From the cottage to the throne, complaints and unhappiness seem to increase, and to threaten the destruction of all social institution. Sovereigns, subjects, nations, classes, all the human passions, virtues and vices, are arming and arranging in dreadful enmity against each other: nothing should be neglected that may tend to mitigate either the popular or monarchic fury which may drive the world again into the blind and dreadful decision of force so inadequate and inapplicable. Stop, for a moment, your wild fury, O ye people—ye sovereigns! before ye render your evils irremediable, and bury in one common ruin the whole edifice of human happiness, which
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may yet be repaired or rather rebuilt. Consider the means and the ends you propose. If you either mean to reform your constitutions, or to sacrifice the administrators of the past; in this case you are unjust; in the other you labour in vain, for an object to which *force* is totally inadequate. To the proof of these two truths of importance I dedicate my preface; in the hope of contributing to calm the general madness, to discover the precipice to be avoided, and investigate the real road to our true interest; and to erect, on the lamentable ruins of our present deformed and miserable state of society, the sacred temple of justice and happiness.

I. The labour would be in vain: for let us examine what may be expected from a simple constitutional reform. Observing the steps of former and present legislators, with the real nature of the administrators, and that of their subjects, we shall perceive some of the reasons for their failure of success, and the futility of their labour.

Man, accustomed from his infancy to the deformity of this monster miscalled society, is insensibly habituated to his horrid aspect, or struggles in vain against his various oppressions.

From this blind security of ignorance, legislators, perceiving in society, only abuses to be corrected, trifling repairs, instead of gradual demolition and rebuilding of the whole edifice; after all their various labours, have generally left the foundaturis, the sources of evil, the same as they found them; or copying each other, and stopping to build on blind and ignorant experience instead of following the natural road of human progression, their constitutions have been confined within a narrow circle of ignorance, and have gradually produced only a long repetition of human miseries.

Liberty, property, security, are the infected and erroneous principles on which society has hitherto been
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established. Principles illusory and void of sense, and like the ancient oracles, calculated to cover ignorance, delude simplicity, and favour interested views. It seems astonishing that man has been so long in perceiving these principles to be totally incompatible with social happiness, and, as will be hereafter demonstrated, that social *liberty* is totally inapplicable to man; that *property* is only an usurpation, and where liberty and property are attempted, there can be no *security*; nay, they prove to be the inexhaustible sources of those very disorders of the injustice and calamities which inundate and absorb all social felicity; nor have they perceived that it is from this infected basis of so ill-organized an edifice, that legislators, attempting to repair one part, have thereby only ruined others; and can serve any individual interests only by injuring the rest: so that legislation appears hitherto only as a disgrace to human reason, or as an infernal invention to disfigure and retard the natural progress of the most glorious production, and perhaps *future lord* of nature, the human *mind*.

Man is by nature inclined to good; with powers constantly tending to the benefit of the individual and the species, thence, to perpetual improvement; and hence his lively sense of reciprocal duties, of the necessity and power of mutual assistance, a sense which, if not misguided or interrupted, would soon lead him into the direct road of his real happiness, through justice and virtue. But the social contract or legislative means from whence he might reasonably expect his salvation and support to guide him in his natural career towards perfection, and secure him the happiness for which he is formed, have been the invincible obstacles in his way, and have finally rendered him vicious, perverse, and miserable. These legislative constitutions, by substituting in the place of *truth* those false and pretended interests of society, have perverted and ruined him: the folly or villany of
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shewing him his interest in the infraction and destruction of the common stock or general interest, from whence his happiness must proceed, has forced him to become the iniquitous and perverse destroyer of all his own and of the public felicity. Thus we see the interest of each is placed in injuring some other part, class, or the whole :—that of the lawyer, in promoting confusion and chicane :—that of the physician, in the increase of disease and misery :—of the workman, in working and finishing as badly as he can :—of the merchant, in the various modes of cheating or deceiving, or in depreciating the home produce, and enhancing the foreign :—that of all talents, in depreciating those of others :—that of every one, in robbing the public or each other :—in short, the interest of each is made to consist in some infraction, not support of law or justice : society is thus made to begin by its dissolution, by rending to pieces the common stock of public happiness on pretext of giving to each his share, by that cursed invention *property* ; so that the whole becomes infallibly the declining, miserable, barbarous tumult of opposing and inimical interests and efforts which we see.

Legislators have hitherto learned little from the errors of their predecessors ; yet we see most of them sensible of the imperfection and insufficiency of their work, by the immensity of the machinery and waste of powers employed to execute their systems ; so many tribunals, laws, and modes of proceeding ; the executive so numerous and expensive ; setting almost one half the inhabitants to guard the other ; prisons, chains, terrors, death. They must be bad systems that require such forces to execute or keep in order : and after all, cannot supply perhaps one-fiftieth of the few, simple wants of society.

If the *general interest* (the only foundation of government or society) was their object, they would not be so afraid of leaving it to general discussion :
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they would take the general consent, which might soon be obtained, and which all would then soon be sufficiently qualified to give. But conscious of the weakness and insufficiency of their work, they seem to dread dissolution and destruction in every blast of public breath, or ray of common reason. This cannot last. Let us hope some of them may now get a step farther, and make some provision for approaching evils, and avert the vengeance of awakening *mind*, till passion gradually cools into reason; or that they may allow the people to make such provision for themselves; which they would soon be qualified to do, if permitted, and still more easily, if gently guided by honest and enlightened men, if such can now be found, after all the operation and effects of such villanous systems of government as hitherto practised, and as we have been considering.

What legislation has yet provided for half the wants of society? or for one-tenth of the consequence of its own blunders? for education; for any tolerable division of property and happiness; for a proportional reward of talents, virtues, or of their being employed, or any adequate remedy to its own numerous evils, of villanous combinations; of debauch and intemperance; of luxury, dissipation; of persecution, injustice, and all the train of evils proceeding from disappointed virtue and successful vice? All of which is indeed impossible even to know or enumerate, till legislators shall examine the spirit and nature of the social contract, its object and extent; and shall labour for the whole, and not merely for self. Cease then, O ye fermenting and tormented people! to expect impossibilities; or to look for virtue and wisdom from a source of vice and ignorance.

On reviewing those who administer, and those who are subject to, the laws, we shall see that both are rendered unfit for their task by the very laws and legislation intended for their direction.

Education depends not on ourselves, and legislators never trouble themselves about it: this important object and social right is left to chance, or to the caprice of ignorance, or to the sinister views of those perhaps interested in its failure or falsity. Hence the greatest and most important part of the community receive no education, or worse than none.

We are born without discernment or judgement, which is sparingly acquired, and with great difficulty, so as to distinguish *false* from *real* good. Our legislator neither determines the one, nor opposes the other, and leaves us to the influence of a false and corrupted public opinion, which we are unqualified and unable to resist; gradually identified with a thousand superfluous wants, which, with that spirit of equality natural to man, must increase faster than they can be supplied; and where the acquisition and expence are equally unlimited. Those who have too much, or only sufficient, or those who have nothing, are all equally tormented with the now necessary but insatiable desire of acquisition, which is the very spirit of injustice and rapacity.

The folly and injustice must surely soon become obvious, of leaving to the rich and great, the employments of talents, the disposal of the labour, and of the common subsistence of all; and this not according to merit, but by favour or caprice: thence the abject rotten chain of dependence of one part of society on the other; of the best, on the worst and least fit to support it. Thence again, wants and desires must become numerous, violent, insatiable, from example, habit, education: thence the general moral character of pride or servility, prostitution or rapacity, all slaves or tyrants: thence the most criminal attempts and combinations; deceit, rapine, theft, prostitution, dissipation; all the public oppressive laws and impositions become necessary; mutual distrust and hatred; the misery of the most meritorious,

rious, and of those only partially vicious; a state of secret warfare, worse than a dissolution of society, repeated revolutions, all become inevitable. In short, to patch up a primitive error in principle is impracticable. When folly gave away in effect to a few what belongs to the whole as a society, all attempts to subdue the general scramble which must ensue to regulation, will be ineffectual. All the laws in the world cannot regulate injustice, nor can we, by their means, probably ever arrive at the sacred temple of justice and human happiness; where all the virtues will be found in their actual growth.

It would be endless to fill up the picture of all the vices and miseries of human society or constitutions, such as we have hitherto seen in the world; an edifice, disgraceful to human reason, destructive of all its rights and attainable felicity, and incapable of repair. Every attempt to a reform on the existing principles will only be a change of similar hands and evils, or which will soon become so; all lost labour, which will contain, like the human frame, the seeds of self-dissolution from its birth.

II. Let us now consider the injustice of all attempts by force or revolt. It is clear that such reforms as we have been considering, certainly cannot be worth the variety of misery and destruction which it would cost, in the crying injustice of so many innocent victims as would be sacrificed to a blind popular fury. Our constitutional errors proceed not from the throne, nor its ministers. The administrators of a bad system are equally the dupes and the sacrifice of its errors, with ourselves. Like us, they are not gods, but men; bred up in the same fallacious principles and education, which are not dependent on themselves. Their seeing and feeling like the rest cannot be imputed to them as their fault. They have heard and felt the cry of oppressed humanity, and have repeatedly attempted redress. Alas! too often by *force*, which is inadequate and in-

applicable, and can only irritate to resistance, and have the wounds the same, with an increase of pain;---or by *menaces*? which are ineffectual, where the measure of sufferings is already full;---or by *promises*? by which the miserable people have been already too often deluded. By what means then can we hope redress; from the plans of writers? Let us take a slight view of this resource; some of these have strongly painted the general miseries, but without administering the remedy, and thence only cruelly aggravating the evil. Others have composed codes and constitutions, but mostly insufficient, and have given the direction and execution to sovereigns. These have been mostly unwieldy machines, which would require more than human force to move or erect in the rugged and impracticable ways of present human nature: or with such immoveable complication of powers, as to impede all progressive motion: or calculated for war and increase of dominion, which must add to the weight and diminish the power. However, these are not faults or crimes to be imputed to sovereigns, ministers, or authors; but their misfortune, the consequence of the common errors, in education, principles, &c. and cannot deserve punishment. If this is guilt, we are all equally guilty, and require equal indulgence, and have thereby lost the right to punish. Let us abandon then all force, menace, fury, and return to calm the medium of nature, the human mind, and work by reason and truth.

Society is a temple to be gradually demolished and rebuilt, and not to be repaired and embellished. The foundations and superstructure are both defective, and cannot bear the touch of repair. Let the whole be gently taken down; and let the edifice of cool reason be previously prepared, and erected in its place: not amid discord and delirium, nor in any past model, that would all be lost labour, or worse. Man is progressive, and made to go forward; and never to return

to what he has formerly been. The stupidity of tying himself to that stationary guide, the past experience of folly and ignorance, has hitherto retarded, enslaved, and ruined him.

Delay may be fatal, there is a limit to the forbearance of the most stupid and enslaved people; despair is soon and easily armed to resistance; and though incapable of discovering the source of its sufferings, will discharge its fury on the nearest link of the chain of causes, the present administration. These, unable to do much, will always attempt or pretend to do something, and perhaps apply some hasty ignorant quack remedy, the fallacy of which is soon discovered by experience. From a temporary and deceitful calm, fresh discontents and tumults arise, and thus men move round in the same vicious circle of suffering, despair, revolution, war, destruction.

A rational posterity will be more astonished at the very slow progress of their predecessors in these most simple moral subjects, which most nearly concern them, than even at their amazing discoveries in arts, sciences, &c. It is equally amazing and mortifying to follow man through his discoveries in earth, sea, heaven; and then, to view his social institutions, from the simple and domestic, to the most general and comprehensive; all, all the work of ignorance and barbarism; perpetually mistaking or losing the plain and direct road to wisdom, virtue, justice, happiness. Yet his powers seem sufficient for the purpose: his reason must at length be able to discover and to preserve so obvious a path; true philosophy will then shew him his own nature and his real wants, his rights and duties, and their extent; how they must be connected with the state, and how the social being, man, must thereon be formed and educated; they will purge metaphysics of its errors, will distinguish false from real pleasures, true from apparent good, (which last are great and real evils which must be unmasked and banished;)

nished;) and by a wise œconomy of these, may be secured a real equality, enjoyment, and independencel. The public and private happiness will be one common stock, supported and enjoyed by all. The government once in a progressive direction, opposed to revolt and decline, amid reason and tranquillity, a constitution may then be prepared and laid before the public; and after mature deliberation, deputies, freely chosen by all, in proper districts, may be sent, for that purpose only, to oppose, approve, or improve it.

Though such a scheme should yet be thought impossible by a great majority, nay though this sentiment may perhaps have once been universal, it is not so now, and will not probably long be that of a majority in Europe. Reason is progressive, like every thing human; she has often stood alone, and a single philosopher has not unfrequently dared to support her against the whole world. That the human powers and faculties were not given in vain, and may yet find means to attain their object, is already considered by some, as no longer an impossibility. This number, though yet small, may soon increase, till a majority, or the collective powers of growing wisdom, shall execute what was lately thought, by all, an absurdity.

Such universal mistake being the natural produce of these inveterate legislative errors, of the few that have escaped, with a timid and uncertain flight, from the vicious circle, their scattered insolated ideas have not yet been connected nor collected into any whole or system. Even the wisest have been justly afraid, on observing that neither force nor humanity have yet been able to correct any important abuse, or raise an oppressed society, or even to touch any part of the old declining edifice, without its crumbling and burying in its ruins often an immensity of human victims: so that they naturally and prudently concluded, that the restoration of the whole social edifice could not be effected

effected with less than the destruction of most of the human race. Fear arrested their farther researches, and magnified the enterprize into an impossibility. But as the awakening human mind begins to feel its powers, fortified by the daily increasing means of communication, we may flatter ourselves that the following, or some such plan, will soon obtain attention and perhaps improvement, and may yet be executed. When it is made evident that the vast machine may be gently taken down, without hurting one individual, but on the contrary, producing clear benefit to all; and gradually, as the old is disposed of, that the new shall arise, beautiful and commodious, where each shall find his place, and the happiness which nature intended him; and when no interval shall appear between this demolition and restoration, for licentious ignorance, or popular delirium, to operate, we may hope, from the present anxious and progressive state of the public mind, that the despair and impossibility, and even the difficulties, will gradually disappear, and political reform become as easy and familiar to man, as are now many other of his former impossibilities.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked up at the sky, which was a deep, dark blue, and felt a sense of peace. The stars were visible, and I knew that I was in a good place. I took a deep breath and felt the cool air fill my lungs. I knew that this was my chance to start over, to begin a new life. I had been told that the stars were a sign, and I knew that I was meant to be here. I took a step forward and felt the ground beneath my feet. It was soft and warm, and I knew that I was home. I looked back at the car and saw that the door was open. I knew that I was not alone, and I felt a sense of relief. I took another step forward and felt the sun on my face. It was a warm, golden light, and I knew that I was in a good place. I took a deep breath and felt the cool air fill my lungs. I knew that this was my chance to start over, to begin a new life. I had been told that the stars were a sign, and I knew that I was meant to be here. I took a step forward and felt the ground beneath my feet. It was soft and warm, and I knew that I was home. I looked back at the car and saw that the door was open. I knew that I was not alone, and I felt a sense of relief. I took another step forward and felt the sun on my face. It was a warm, golden light, and I knew that I was in a good place.

111-112

SOCIETY RESTORED, &c.

PART I.

Of the Nature of Social Man, and of his Rights and Duties.

1st. **A**LL his social institutions must be accommodated to his well-being, or greatest attainable happiness. Many needless researches may be spared: such have hitherto confounded and retarded the progress of true philosophy. It will be sufficient to consider the nature and faculties of man from such of his actions as are uniform, constant, and universal. And 1st, as to his mechanical form, or physical essence, each part of it will be found adapted to a particular function, and the whole to receive the impressions of the qualities of the bodies that surround him, and to transmit them to what is called the soul or mind. This action and re-action we call *perception*, and this gives him the ideas of pain and pleasure, of physical good and evil.

2. After the act of perception, though the object be absent, he has the power of retaining or recalling the idea or perception of it, as if it were present. This action, faculty, or state of mind, is called *memory*.

3. When the mind thus calls up, as it were, before it, by memory, two or more ideas, or in the act of perception, it brings them together, and examines their relations, there proceeds from thence a third idea or operation

tion of mind; as when two right lines meet, a new idea is produced, viz. that of angle. This we call intellectual or rational faculty. If these simple ideas are evidently true, or experimentally found constantly the same, and the consequences fairly deduced, the reasoning or proposition is true, and the contrary is false; and by this faculty and method, man acquires the idea of truth and error.

4. Two properties are found in man uniformly radicating in his nature, or two original and invincible powers, but opposed to each other, and that gives motion to the whole of his faculties, and form the general system of human actions. One conduces to his destruction by means of pain; the other, to his preservation, and to the continuance of the species, by means of pleasure. On these two principles man is constituted in the continual alternative of pain and pleasure, and thence in a state of perpetual activity in order to avoid the one, and obtain the other. On mature consideration it would seem that the natural state of man is that of pain; and that of pleasure is not essentially such, but only as a suspension or lenitive to pain, the action of which gives the idea of pleasure; however this lenitive necessarily exists, otherwise man would perish before he could accomplish his inscrutable destination, would be only a casual production, and, without an object or end, would perish in embryo; or rather, perhaps, he could or would not have been produced. On examining these lenitives or remedies to pain, it is obvious that man need not be so miserable, as he has generally made himself, by mistake or delirium. There seems to be some lenitive or remedy discoverable for every evil in nature; and he may thus, at least, let himself gently and insensibly down to dissolution, without more pain than necessary to his existence and activity. The thorough knowledge of these lenitives, of their time and measure, is necessary to man; his senses are capable only of a certain degree of sensation or force, with regard to pleasure; but are without, or have a different limit as to pain, which at length destroys the sense. If, then, in the application of any lenitive or pleasure, the proper quantity or time is mistaken, the effect must, at least in part, be defeated, and a gradual increase, instead of an alleviation of pain, be produced. Hence from false calculation or reasoning, habit or education, proceed those apparent pleasures

pleasures which produce, on the whole, so much more pain than pleasure.

5. Hence may be established two evident principles, 1st, that man has a natural right to all these means of preservation, to these lenitives or remedies; they belong necessary to his natural pains and wants:—2nd, That all, as similar beings, have an equal right to them, both in force, or quantity and extension.

6. But man, on considering himself, must gradually perceive the extent of his wants,—of the things useful and necessary to him,—the difficulty of acquiring and preserving them, and his own insufficiency to do either alone: thence he must contract or tacitly agree with his fellow-beings. 1st, To live together and watch for mutual defence; 2nd, to contribute their labour and assist each other, so as to supply the natural wants of all: so that from this very great disproportion between his force and his wants, his natural state is that of society; the manner and form of which may be called the social contract. From this proceeds three principles:—1st, Each contracts to contribute his share to the general labour—2nd, This gives him a right to an equal share in the produce of that united labour—and 3d, To defence of self, and of whatever contributes to his or the general well-being. Thus, man is ever naturally in society, with its natural forms and conventions which are these reciprocal rights and duties, and these produce the idea of justice, which contains all the virtues necessary to man, as we shall presently see.

7. Let us look back on what has been said, and take other views of man and his faculties. We have seen that by perception he acquires the idea of pain and pleasure, of physical good and evil, which, by the primitive laws of his nature, he is obliged to follow or avoid; this act is termed the *will*, which is evidently not free, and is obliged to follow even apparent pleasure, when from error or false calculation it acts on his mind as the real.

8. Thus we often see the will subject to change and vacillation, embarrassed and distressed in its choice. This volubility is the necessary effect of our different views or appearances of agreeable or disagreeable under which the same object is presented to him by the senses, according as they may be pre-disposed by opinion, education, or different relations, which, from within and without ourselves, are continually changing. This fallacious choice of ap-

parent pleasures for the real, being a source of real pain and torment, it is evident that all this mass of pain and misery should and would be banished from afflicted society, if our education and social constitution were what they should be, founded on the true objects and duties, which would rectify the general opinion, determine the true pleasures, and banish the false; and by a wise œconomy of those, would secure the well-being of each individual, as dependent only upon himself, then qualified to distinguish and chuse rightly.

9. We have said, that by the rational faculty is acquired the idea of truth and error, neither in this situation is the will free; for no one endowed with common sense, and comprehending the meaning of the terms used in reasoning, and which bore the necessary characters before mentioned, could ever refuse his assent to evident truth, or his dissent to falsity. From this law of nature it is clear, that if from ignorance, education, interest, truth for falsehood, or vice versa, is presented to the will, it must be equally forced to assent even to the apparent truth, and vice versa: thence another obligation and object of the legislator, to banish, and still more not to employ delusion, or ignorance in the contracting parties, to delude them; such a contract is void in its nature.

10. It will be also found that justice stands on the same foundation with truth. The rights and duties of social man give him the idea of justice and injustice. In this situation neither can the will be free. Man in society properly organized, keeping in view the object for which he is in it, must ever perceive that the necessary and only price by which he purchases his right or well-being, is the fulfilling his duties; that is, to be just. But alas! here experience has deceived even philosophers: they have every where perceived injustice to spread and triumph over the face of the earth, and to drive humanity and all social bodies into the depth of disorder, iniquity, injustice, and misery: and have hence inadvertently concluded, that the will is free to be just or unjust. They ought to perceive that social man has only a relative and improper, and not an absolute and natural liberty; a species of apparent liberty to chuse error, which exists only by ignorance, and which would not be found in a society justly and properly organized, that should keep in view the object of social contract. They should perceive that social man,

man, from his first unfortunate step in ignorance and error, must necessarily subvert his nature, and slide into the second, that is, become unjust. And it is evident that the fatal effects which may and must proceed from ignorance and error, can never justly be imputed to the people, who thus ignorantly agree to all; but to those who stipulate the contract; viz. the legislators:—We may therefore conclude, if social man cannot be free as to truth or falsity, nor from his nature, as to pain or pleasure; and if as a civil and moral being he cannot be free as to justice or injustice, he cannot be a free agent in any manner whatever; and can have no liberty, only apparently from ignorance and error, (which he takes for truth) in short the *liberty to be unjust by mistake*. And even in the physical faculty of the mind giving motion to the material parts, the will is not free; but is always determined by some motive which must ever depend on the nature of the sensation. So that social man can have no absolute liberty, as he cannot act but from motive.

But his well-being must be dependent only on his own actions; and these, on the social contract; but this his well-being must be wholly independent on the will and caprice of others. His only, and what may be called true political liberty, consists in the removal of all obstacles to his rights and duties. Though this removal of impediment, or arranging every part of nature and society in its proper place and office, cannot properly be called liberty; yet in this sense, it is highly important, and in this probably consists the perfection, towards which perhaps all nature or universe is tending. Oh, sacred truth! how humiliating will thy reign at first appear to be to human folly, and to mortal pride, and all her idolatry of nonsense. First of this hitherto sacred and eternal nonsense *liberty*, to which men in their delirium have been so long sacrificing truth and justice, and in these their happiness! Blinded by this idolatry, they have, as usual, been unable to define its object, or rather phantom. These things indeed could not well have happened otherwise; for had they followed a few philosophers and attempted to define and to analyze this phantom Liberty, either synthetically from any principles, or analytically from practice, they must soon have terminated in confusion and obscurity, or in dishonor and mortification; and would thence perhaps have been driven into the road of truth and nature. Man seems now to be per-

ceiving a little of this obscurity and confusion, and to be turning and searching around, in quest of truth. Let us examine how the term *liberty* or *freedom* may be used, or what it is, that men are in search of. When we consider the liberty of a body as to its motion, or talk of its moving in free space, it cannot be while it moves, nor of itself, or its motion, that we speak; we can only mean the absence or removal of any exterior obstacle or impediment to that motion: so civil and political liberty can only mean the absence or removal of any obstacle to the natural rights, or duties of individuals, classes, or bodies of people; and that state where none have the right or power to disturb or impede any of these, is called a free state, where all are obliged by proper and efficacious means to do their duty, *i. e.* where all are forced to be just; or where none are free, or at liberty to be unjust; so that the best governments must have the least of it, and 'tis only by liberty being totally suppressed; or by obliging all to be just and rational, that men may be made perfect and happy; and this is not to be done by force, (unless the force of truth can be so called) but by education, reason, moral habit, in short by and through *minds*, the real source of all human improvement and happiness. What fatal delusions, and contradictions! all the deluded people every where crying out for liberty; seconded by seductive legislators, indulging the vulgar ignorance and perhaps their own, all join the cry, delirious after an object of which they have already too much, and from which at least half their miseries proceed; from this dream of undefined liberty assumed by a great part, advantage has been taken by that part to enslave the rest of society. It is the doctrine of despotism in disguise, which, by flattering the vulgar vanity of ignorant man, to think himself free, &c. that has bound him in chains. Liberty to a part of society, only, must terminate in slavery to the rest. Is it not from this mistaken liberty, so unjustly given to the rich and fortunate, to the wicked and artful, to accumulate all they possibly can, that is owing most of the misery of the rest, who are thereby sold to the first, entirely at their mercy for the means of their subsistence, and of this means, perpetually diminishing, are repeatedly defrauded? This liberty or power so unjustly granted, by legislators, to the possessors of landed property, (which belongs to the whole and cannot be granted away to individuals) their liberty to circulate and dispose of it as they please, perhaps in a manner

ner the most pernicious to the public weal, is the cause of the misery of millions. From this fatal liberty, the distribution of wealth falls so unjustly on the least deserving, and the most meritorious often pine and perish in want. From the liberty and interest that each has to depreciate and vilify the labor and the talents of others, many are deprived of the right of being employed, and thereby of their only reward, that their talents and education can now procure: in short, from the liberty (by which they mean interest or power) that each has to injure others, and to ravish from them all he can, all are distressed, and rendered secret or declared enemies to each other.

On examining the immense mass of injustice that desolates the earth, most of it will be found to proceed from the different kinds of liberty (as they are pleased to call it) granted to individuals or classes; yet the people (and even legislators, as if not satisfied with their measure of oppression) continue crying out for more liberty, rendered thus completely frantic; through misery, corruption, and ignorance: they know not what they want or ask, nor can they have time or talents to examine. The legislators indeed excuse themselves by alledging, that they follow the public voice (which is corrupted and misled, and which they should rectify) or with somewhat more plausibility, others profess to give to each the liberty of doing whatever he pleases, provided he does no prejudice to others: but what contradictions! on examining the organization of their social bodies, we find that not one individual can move a step, to procure his own well-being or his right, without injuring some others; (and this is often done with impunity) so that either their constitutional principles have no relation to their practice, or their practice and principles must mutually destroy each other.

11. Let us re-consider the social compact, and by farther reflections investigate its spirit and extent. Man is naturally and originally in society, and the manner of his being there, is the social contract; the object of this is, that he may more readily and easily obtain the supply of his natural wants and rights, physical and mental: these must therefore first be known, before the spirit and extent of the contract can be settled or understood; let us then examine these. Human reason has its productions, as well as the earth; nature determines man to enjoy and profit of both; and he has equally a right to both; to his share in all the
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lenitives for his physical wants and pains; as to all the produce and enjoyment of arts and science, which not only improve, augment, and facilitate the physical productions, but also serve as lenitives and consolation to his mental pains and troubles; as food for his mind, the most essential part, the source and seat of all his perfections and happiness. In short, each man has a right not only to his equal share of all the productions of the land, but to all those which the human faculties are capable, actively or passively, of producing or enjoying. It is in vain to alledge that the man of the vulgar or commonalty has not occasion for so much as, &c. this is the language of pride, folly, and usurpation; and of legislators who lose sight of the object of the social constitution; or of those very insufficient lawgivers who know not the wants and rights of man, which indeed are all lost and enveloped in the unjust and cruel division of the commonwealth, generally among the least deserving,—or of those who try to lull and deceive the people into the general system of rapacity and injustice. They dare not answer clearly when they are asked who they mean by the *vulgar*, or *common people*.—If it is he who is bred up in ignorance without education; or he who can obtain from his incessant labour bare subsistence to vegetate upon, often worse than the animals employed in the same labour, without a moment of respite or enjoyment; ought such to be found in any society only tolerably organized, nay even on barely professed principles of justice or humanity? No, we shall find *no* legibly written in the contract of reason and nature, with other important truths and principles highly necessary for legislators to know.

12. To investigate and draw the consequences of this contract of reason and nature, let us suppose it carried into practice. Suppose five persons sensible of their wants and of their insufficiency to procure them singly, should unite their powers or forces, in order to obtain these their just and natural wants and desires. The first offers to labour the ground, to furnish nourishment for the whole: the second offers to make cloaths for each: the third offers to build a house to secure them from the weather, animals, &c. the fourth to dedicate himself to the contrivance and construction of utensils and machines to facilitate their labour: the fifth offers to apply to music, for their amusement, consolation and pleasure, in the hours of fatigue or leisure; to impede the vicious and promote the virtuous sentiments:

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(this of all arts, is the supreme or *comble*, teaching man to be happy, and may complete the measure of his time in the due proportion of the useful and agreeable pursuits.) Suppose the fourth to pretend to superior advantages from the rareness and difficulty of his talents, the first will readily alledge in answer, "though your talents may be more rare, mine are more useful, and though your office be more difficult, mine is more laborious; and as there is none to make the distribution, I will change offices with you, and remain content with an equal share of the advantages: what should I desire more than equally to partake in the common stock produced by all; of all that is necessary to natural wants and possible happiness? any attempt to enjoy beyond this limit of nature, would be unreasonable and unjust; useless and foolish. This, I think, would be rather unanswerable. They might perceive the danger of admitting the smallest beginning to any permanent pre-eminence or privilege, which might thence be continued or repeated to degrees of mutual privation, injustice, usurpation, tyranny; so as finally to destroy or dissolve the contract.—They would perceive, that no difference of employments can or ought to confer any essential advantage over the rest: all would cheerfully go on with their own labour and amusements, and occasionally assist each other in theirs. Suppose the produce of the first, of grain, to be one year greater than the consumption, (clearly belong to the whole community) what would or should they do with it? they would preserve it, in case of future want, or less abundant year.

To state some of the consequences of these simple principles;—1st. It appears then, that every individual of the society has a right from nature, and the spirit of the contract, not only to the necessary, but to the agreeable, to the moral, as well as physical produce of all; and no other claim, return, or exchange can be made by, or to any one for his labour. 2d. This right is essentially equal in all, as are their wants, being similar beings by nature; and there can be no vulgar, superior, or inferior beings; in short, no permanent ranks with power over others in society. 3d. That no one can possess any thing individually, nor traffic with it, as all belongs to the whole as a society, and the disposal cannot be given away to individuals, without infraction of the contract, or usurpation. Hence, 4thly, No contracting individual can possess any other separate

fund for his subsistence or well-being, than his equal share of the whole of the produce; a right obtained by his own labour: any such separate fund or source belonging naturally, and of course, to the whole society. He who fails in the conditions of the contract ceases to belong to it: and he who pretends to its advantages must contribute his labour.

Nobles and possessors of the earth, fear not that I mean to put the spade and the hammer into the hands of all indiscriminately, no. I promise you that each shall be satisfied with his task, and that I mean not to degrade any one. The term *labour* is unjustly and foolishly become disgraceful.—1st. Because in our absurd and ill-constituted societies, labour has been rendered too arduous, and too ill-rewarded: 2d. Many have found the art and means to be excluded from their due share of it; to be privileged; which has debased the greatest number, and has spoilt and corrupted, by raising the others to the sphere of folly and pride; and has rendered the whole miserable and unhappy; and this most useful and noble term *labour* has lost its natural dignity, and become even a source of degradation, and of tenfold misery.

But in a wise and just constitution, every thing changes aspect. In societies hitherto formed, (mostly by chance, vice, or folly) not twenty-five in one hundred have laboured to any utility; many not at all; others producing no advantages to the society; others too few for their exertions; and others, real disadvantages, or injury. A superfluous number of directors, pretended promoters, and proprietors; the numerous and needless herds of the law, of commerce, of useless and injurious *arts*, most of these offices become only apparently necessary, from the vices and constitutional imperfections which ought not to exist. In a well-regulated constitution, we shall see that ninety-nine in one hundred of these may be abolished: when we come to survey the numbers in so many useless or injurious professions. So many servants, armies, navies, &c. mostly idle or worse, only employed in useless or pernicious labour. Whereas, if by a better, or more rational, and convenient order of things, all the society were to work as they ought, and employ their exertions to the most advantage, many happy consequences would ensue, as well as from the new constitution. As 1st. the produce would thence triplicate, which would soon furnish abundance,
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and the habits of labour, the true riches of a state. 2d. By this means, individuals would be so well supplied with all they would naturally want; virtue and merit so rewarded and promoted, that general equality and happiness might then be established and secured. 3d. The time necessary for labour might then be gradually diminished, until reduced perhaps to half of the present; from twelve hours per day, now necessary to existence, to six hours per day. And such a degree of labour would be found necessary to health and recreation, and become gradually agreeable, and even honourable, from its obvious utility, produce, &c. None being exempted, this, and all the foolish foundations and structure of honor and disgrace, would soon disappear: and labour recover its dignity. The domestic might say, if the doctor whom I serve and assist to dress, will cure me when sick, my labour produces its share of the public happiness, as well as his. The taylor and the minister of state, may then be considered, and made to consider each other in the same light, as equally necessary and productive of different parts of the common stock of felicity.

13. Another consequence follows, as a fixed principle, viz. that man is born with a right to his education as well as preservation, and for and by which he contracts for a return of duties. The society is therefore bound to maintain and to educate all its members, from their infancy, upwards. In this way only can education be secure, and what it ought to be, i. e. comfortable to the spirit and wants of society. Its members, as they grew up, would then feel they had a country (*patria*) where the ties and duties would be real and delightful; few or none of our dear countries at present take any care of the education of their dear children, but take great care to seize at least half the labour and produce of that education, such as it chances to be. Indeed they undertake, with this, to watch and defend the public security; but when an individual is in danger, he must probably expend the other half to defend himself, and then deprived of all, must probably have recourse to deceit or roguery, to dishonest means of some kind, in order to live: and his dear country must either be cruel and unjust in punishing what she has occasioned, or perhaps shut her eyes, or dignify her children's vices by the name of industry.

14. To proceed to the second object of the social contract. Men naturally unite for defence, either against an

exterior enemy, as in war; or, 2d, against the interior; or for the defence of individuals against each other, by laws, punishments, morals. In the first case, it is evident that all who are able to bear arms are obliged to assist in the public defence. As none are privileged, it is clear that each, in defending the whole when attacked, thereby defends himself. In this case only a vigilant public policy will be required to provide that the state, by attending to one evil, may not fall into others (as will be seen in the proposed Constitution) i. e. to provide against the deficiency of the produce of the public labour, a disorder which must inevitably happen, if the people were to go out of the state to attack another, which ought therefore to be absolutely forbidden and avoided, as a fixed political state maxim; such expedition being always ruinous, and against the nature of the contract, by which none have the right to command it, and none the duty to obey or execute. A well-regulated state has no need of conquests, nor of other countries, in order to be happy, as will be seen.

15. The second case or object requires more serious reflection. When an individual is attacked by one or more of the social body, it is the duty of others to run to his defence, relief, and assistance; and when they shall have prevented or repulsed the attack, their duty terminates there. To go beyond this limit would be an excess and transgression; a fresh attack on the aggressor, against the nature and object of the contract. Here arises a material point to determine, viz. if this attack, or any of its pernicious effects, be subject to criminal justice? or if the society has a right to punish? and in what manner?—Let us see.

We have seen that the object and duty of legislation is, to *make men just*, and to keep them so, as it is only by this way that they can arrive at the happiness of which they are capable; and we have seen, (p. 10.) that the constitution and administration will be perfect only in proportion as they render the individual *just*. So that in proportion as legislation attains to the possible degree of human perfection, in the same degree man, whom it forms and guides, will be *just*; and in this case, there will ultimately be no crimes, and thence no occasion for punishment: so that whenever injustice or crime is found in the society, the legislature must be defective, or the administration negligent, or both; and they thereby lose the right of

of punishing what they have occasioned. Legislations have been forced to have recourse to the barbarous and unjust principle of *punishment*, in order to evade greater evil, and not to exercise any right or duty: they thought thereby to stem a little the torrent of depravation which necessarily flowed from the errors and imperfections of their constitutions; like the surgeon who neglects the trifling wound of his patient, till forced to use the knife, in order to save him. Though we should despair of mortals ever forming so perfect a constitution, where man should be completely just, and crimes unknown; yet, how best to repair, with equity and prudence, the first disorders, and stifle in their birth the pernicious consequences, becomes a difficult and important problem. When the social body shall have fulfilled, accomplished all its possible duties; shall have rendered its members as just, and with as few illegitimate wants and dependence as practicable:—and if, after all, a few incorrigible cases should still occur, from some remaining human frailties, on both sides; then, to prevent the progress of evil, there remains a small right in the society, as the last resource, viz. to cut or lop off a damaged part, in order to save the whole;—to banish or seclude a wicked or incorrigible member, (but after being tried in all practicable different ways and offices) as unfit for any part of the duties of that society; and even then, it may be worthy the public wisdom and justice, and still its duty, to consider what may be best to do with such criminal or defective member, for his own good or well being, which is ever the only object of society: as, how to employ the remainder of his existence? if at home? or to what part of the world he might be next sent, as best suited to his character, customs, or constitution; or to some latent principle or habit, not yet called into action? And all this must be done in the true and equitable forms as prescribed in the following constitution.

16. These doctrines, deduced from the true analysis of the nature of man, and their consequences, seem to furnish the true principles and materials for restoring the real edifice of human society,—of *justice*,—the only asylum of mortal felicity. This is man's first object, and so important as to render every other trifling or superfluous, till this is attained:—'tis so luminously important, as to throw, by its lustre, a glare of new light on all other objects, to shew their defects and comparative insufficiency; with

with the fallacy and futility of most of the pursuits of men, and even of philosophers. Every art and science has been hitherto so embarrassed and complicated by erroneous *man*, that it may require ages for even truth and reason to restore them to their natural order and simplicity. He has embarrassed even the study of himself with such terms and intricacies, and his own simple essence with such multitudes of nonsensical vices, virtues, qualities, faculties, goods and evils, that they have been pressed into existence, only by his own creative imagination;—as charity, liberality, ingratitude, honour, will, liberty, enmity, jealousy, &c. most of which owe their being to the erroneous human fancy; and even there, could not exist, so as to procure a name to be known by, but for Society. Hence, they are not naturally and originally of man; but vicious parasitical excrescences, which must be lopped off, with many other superfluities, as he advances in real improvement. So that many of our fancied virtues and vices,—and perhaps all moral evil, exist only in consequence of the errors of our ill-constructed societies.

When a constitution shall be founded on the natural wants of social men, and cleared of errors, and thence of his vices; with his rights determined, assured, and provided for,—his well-being rendered dependent only on himself, and not on others; every thing will be then seen in a kind of self motion, by rights and duties; *justice* will be found to include all virtues, as injustice all vices; and all those fantastical creations, from refinement in error, will disappear.

However, these false and fantastical ideas have hitherto enveloped all moral science in confusion, bewildered even philosophers, and arrested their progress in the other useful and necessary researches, that lead directly to truth. Metaphysics must be purified from these and many other superfluities, before we can establish any principles or foundation sufficiently solid and conformable to human nature, and to the right social form in which man may live to be just, and hence happy. We may thence proceed to form a *code*, or a sum of truths, or of unequivocal principles, as our guide or basis;—reduce them into one view for comparison, &c. First let us observe, that the natural human wants are not few; and the errors from education, from opinions, constitutions, &c. directly and indirectly, have fabricated many other apparent and imaginary wants,
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which gradually become real and augment the mass. Man, by nature the creature of habit, cannot renounce these; and will never be tranquil or satisfied till in full possession of his natural rights; but will be perpetually endeavouring by all possible means, *proper* or *improper*, to obtain them.—But which are the *proper* and *improper* means? become questions of importance.—*Education*, i. e. talents and their produce, may be included in the *proper*. These depend not on man himself; and are *casual*, uncertain, accidental, in most of the constitutions yet known. Now those who are already in society from necessity, and without these *proper* means of supplying their rights and wants, will, most naturally, have recourse to the *improper*. And those who do possess the means, by education and talents, finding in the unjust state of society the use and success of these, entirely dependent on the will and caprice of others, and not on their own merits and powers, and thus frustrated of their due reward or right, must therefore be forced, like the others, to recur to the *improper* means. And when thus placed or abandoned to so violent a conflict, between false duty and real necessity, the undue method of punishing those who are thus, as it were, constrained to the use of improper means, will ever be useless and ineffectual, as it is unreasonable and unjust.

No;—there are no hopes of any constitution producing any of the salutary effects expected from it, until the contracting individuals shall be so placed and constituted as to be furnished and provided with all that nature is continually telling them they have a right to expect; and shall secure to them the means, and effects; and their well-being be made to depend only on their own real merits and social contract; and not on the caprice of others. Then, only, will man be *just*, and thence, happy; will attain his object and perform his duties: *crime* and *punishment* will be banished society; and little or nothing will be left for law or government to do. Such is the model; let us at least begin the edifice, which growing, awakening human reason may now probably soon comprehend, correct, and finish.

PART II.

Code.—Deduced from part First—(as the means; the principles and the basis of the Constitution.)

FROM the reflection in § 10 and 12, we have seen that *liberty* and *property* are totally inapplicable and unsuitable to man, and that he is incapable of using either. This truth is not only the basis of the constitution, but something more. It is and ought to be the only object of the legislation and constitution, as per § 10 and 12; and is therefore placed in front, that it may never be lost sight of. This, with the other truths and principles deduced from part first, will be the means or materials to construct, and the foundation on which is to be raised, the new constitution. They are now collected and form the code.

1st. Principle, from § 4 and 5. Man has a right to all the lenities established by nature, as succour and relief to his natural pains.

2. From § 4, 5, 11, and 12. This right is in all and each, essentially and perfectly equal.

3. § 11 and 12. This right extends to all the natural productions, improved by art; to all the productions which the human faculties are capable of producing or enjoying.

4. § 7 and 8. The constitution must banish from society all that is only apparent good, which is real evil.

5. § 7 and 8. The constitution must ensure to each individual his well-being, as his right (consisting of the supply of his physical, moral, and mental wants) and render it dependent only on himself;—on his duty, and not on the will of others.

6. § 6 and 12. No individual can have any prerogative over the rest; hence no individual can possess any property (2).

7. § 12. No individual can possess any separate fund from whence he may draw what is due to him by right, except his own employment or labour.

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8. § 12. Hence none in the society can be exempt from employment or labour.

9. § 13. The education and subsistence of the individuals from their birth must be secured, and therefore at the charge and care of the society.

10. § 14. No one has a right to command or order offensive war; and it is the duty of all to concur in defensive war.

11. § 10 and 15. It is the duty of the *society* to prevent evil (crime or injustice.) If it happens, it is its own fault, and it thence loses the right of punishing.

12. § 6 and 15. It is the duty of every *individual* to prevent evil, and therefore to repair to the assistance of any individual attacked; and has therefore the right to oppose any infractions of the law, and 'tis his duty to denounce them.

P A R T III.

Constitution or Form of the Social Body.

Preliminary. IT would be endless and needless to enumerate the various kinds of false reasoning that have hitherto deluded men and legislators, on the principles of civil or political constitutions; and that have deprived them of courage to try more salutary and rational means. They observed man to be continually desiring and suffering; and on obtaining his wish, to remain only satisfied for a moment or not at all; and thence beginning again his perpetual chain or circle of misery; they have concluded that this globe cannot furnish where withal to satisfy human nature, which must be therefore incapable of greater felicity here; and that 'tis in vain to attempt other means or efforts than have been already tried for that purpose.—Answer. This discontent, &c. may be otherwise accounted for. That a state of desire is a state of pain;—granted. A want, real or apparent, produces desire, which produces fear, anxiety;—and together, they produce torment. But when man obtains the desired object, if really in want of it, and capable of enjoying it, the possession certainly brings him satisfaction and content.—This happening so rarely, is what has deceived the philosophers and legislators. They have seldom sufficiently perceived, that man's disappointment and uneasiness proceed generally from his aspiring, through false education, metaphysical and political error, at objects of only apparent happiness, and which he is, by nature, incapable of enjoying;—or because in the possession of a real good, he knows not the true measure of enjoyment according to his natural wants and rights; and hence it is not surprizing, that in the desire as well as possession he should err in excess or defect, and both prove the sources of anxiety, fears, disappointment;—of his discontent and unhappiness.

But in a constitution, purified of metaphysical error, and organized according to the spirit of the social contract,
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of the real nature and rights of man,—in which every individual is secured of all the objects which his real nature requires, and in the use of which he is rightly directed, to the true extent, proportioned to his natural faculties:—Man, in such situation, would have nothing more to wish, and would not then be tormented by desire, nor disappointed in possession: and he is therefore destined by his nature, and is capable of infinite greater happiness; as will be shewn in the new constitution.

In this prospect, let us begin the edifice; and with the exhilarating hope of procuring, by its elevation, that of debased humanity, all the toil and pains it has or may cost, will sink into nothing. The greatest obstacles to reform, are the forms already established; and our fancied civilization impedes all real improvement. The difficulties are great—insurmountable; in attempting to make man change his habits, though ever so much for the better. To a people yet unformed, or only beginning, a form may be given: but with old and, as it were, worn out nations, other means must be used. To water, if pure, a taste is easily given; but not, if it has already a strong flavor, till gradually purified again.

Most men, even the lowest and most debased, generally know what is useful, just, and good; but, in spite of this, they generally do and must obey their habits and the public errors; and slide into vices and actions which their reason condemns. Hence the great impolicy, and even injustice, of throwing all the weight of reform on the present race; especially when it may so easily be divided between two or three generations. We have already learnt the way of throwing our debts upon posterity; and may surely hope to learn how to repay them by obviating the pains and sharing the pleasures and benefits of reform: (for happily it may be so conducted as to procure much more pleasure, than pain, to both.)

Our customs and habits, acquired and justified by established error, education, legislation, opinion,—it would be equally unjust and impolitic, abruptly to abolish, and punish in us the effects of the general error: and indeed the attempt would probably meet with opposition, so general, as to defeat all the just beneficial purposes of reform. Thus, the wisest, best, and most effectual manner of vanquishing all these obstacles, becomes of immense importance. This, it appears to me, will consist chiefly in knowing how

to *modify*, instead of suddenly *destroying* established customs, though abuses, so that they may gradually abolish themselves, for the benefit of self and posterity. Those who strike at their immediate and precipitate abolition, listen only to the violent sentiments of pride or interest;—to passion instead of reason, and are generally defeated at last.—But have not we, the present race, a right to the advantages of reform, as well posterity?—replies the little selfish spirit of corruption and error. Answer, Patience, reason, thought, may so manage and modify reform, as that none may suffer, and all may find their advantage; and the true social edifice may be begun in the present and terminated in the next generation, with obvious accommodation for all.

A thorough examination of this our supposed right to the present advantages, and rights, of reform, when we please, would lead into an endless labyrinth of the nature, circumstance, and conditions of the original contract. Each has, doubtless, contracted with the whole, and the whole with each; man is born a member of the society, and his consent to every thing that concerns the whole is, doubtless, his right. The social contract differs from all others in this, that it concerns man's whole existence, which is wholly in society, and not a moment without; whereas, after the termination or infringement of any other contract, he generally remains where he was,---still a member of the general compact, which can only be established by the general will.

But all this leads to unfathomable depth of research; and time presses man on to new objects and modes of existence. He must learn to quit the shores and anchors of ignorant experience, and launch out into the open sea of progressive knowledge and improvement, which is obviously his nature; and must there attend to the compass of reason or *mind*. His object now is, to repair the present evils, and provide against the future. We are sick, and should set about the cure: but, in the present state of science, we have no right to condemn the physician or surgeon who, from ignorance or neglect, may have left us to decline into chronical disorder: their condemnation, would be no cure; and they may with justice throw much of the blame on ourselves. In short, wisdom requires only that we should cure or amputate the infected parts, for our own good, and before they contaminate posterity.

Perhaps

Perhaps the chief obstacles will consist in a few foolish prejudices, which reason surely, in time, or soon, may remove. We might perhaps succeed, by convincing those who govern, and share the ranks and riches of public contribution, that such state and opulence will become useless to themselves, when it ceases to be so to society; and that, even now, it is only to them an apparent good, i. e. a real evil, which prejudice and habit have rendered necessary--only to their unhappiness.--That by enabling society to go on, of itself, and in proportion to its success and felicity, they will only be eased of a burden unfit for human nature to bear:--that they will exchange their present anxiety, fear, remorse, danger;--for a state of tranquillity, security, general love and esteem, and will thence be repaid for their present unhappy situation.--The people will be readily satisfied, (if done in time) by relieving them of a part of their present misery, and with a restoration of only a part of their due rights, as, from the natural effects of habitual corruption and error, they can only, by degrees, become equal to the full execution of all their duties: and all may be convinced that the full effects of a wise and just constitution can only be obtained by knowing the nature of man, his real wants and rights, and by giving him the moral habits and education suitable to these,--to the end proposed.

If all this can be made evident to the present generation;--the delivery from so many of their present pains and troubles, with the obvious and still greater benefit to their posterity, it can hardly be conceived that they will oppose, but rather assist, the restoration of the sacred temple of justice, peace, and happiness. And in this pleasing hope, let us expose our new constitution to the eye of the world;--as an attempt--an object of the first importance, and worthy of the general attention, and individual reason, to improve upon.

In great cities, corruption is inevitably produced, and hidden vices there increase and multiply, in spite of all the vigilance--even of virtue and justice,--could it be found in such societies. They are likewise obnoxious to all economy and wisdom:--Provisions, materials, luxuries, &c. must be brought from a distance; and thence the employment of so many useless and even pernicious powers--of men, animals, &c. Great cities are thus rendered

rendered unfit for human felicity, or for any rational system of society.

A city ought never to exceed 20,000 inhabitants.—The country population is naturally indeterminable, and changeable—with various circumstances of soil, extent, employment, but must be such as to furnish the city and themselves with provisions, &c. The city and its territory may be called a district,—and of any number of these may consist the kingdom or state. (15) The inhabitants must be divided into only two classes. The 1st, all those destined to the liberal arts and studies; and the 2d, those of all the other arts and trades. The city, (5) — to have three uniform squares (*piazzi*) merely for arts, trades, and education; so constructed, as upon the ground-floor (a little raised) to have halls for all the arts and manufactures wanted; and the upper stories as lodging-rooms for those so employed.—About 2500 lodging-rooms in each square.—Two of the squares for the instruction of this second class; one for the men, and the other for the women. The third square for the education of first class, one part of it for men, and the other for women; and the sovereign and ministerial palace. The children of all will enter here, for their education, after the age of six, (being first inoculated) and initiated in reading, and writing a little, by their mothers; from books containing the necessary moral and constitutional institutions of the society; and in these, they will now be farther instructed, at school.—The first year at school will be employed in improving their reading and writing;—in the second year, add drawing;—in the third, arithmetic;—in fourth, geometry. These are necessary to all the classes and professions.—They will then be appointed to the different professions,—and all to reason.

The first class will apply to the study of agriculture, physic, surgery, anatomy, chemistry, botany, mechanics, astronomy,—and all the liberal arts,—painting, composition of music, architecture, poetry: the second class will take all the other arts and trades.

The hours of study will be—from seven to nine:—then to ten, for breakfast:—then till two, for the other various studies and occupations: then to four, for dinner;—of the rest of the day, in festivals, &c.—more hereafter.

The

The girls of the first and second classes, and the boys of the second, shall have only one hour per day, taken between seven and two, for writing, drawing, arithmetic, geometry;---and this to the age of ten. They will afterwards take up these studies again, one hour per day, for a year,--the boys from 17 to 18, and the girls of both classes, from 16 to 17;---being an age fitter for understanding and progress in these subjects, and because then approaching the age that will require such knowledge.

The girls will remain at school till the age of 18, and the boys till 22: and then go by a certificate from the masters, of their proper application and progress, of their being equal to the place previously destined them, for the public good: but if this is not voted by a plurality of masters and committees of comrades (which may be formed for this and other purposes) they will have to remain another year.

In marriages,---the classes are not to mix. The first class will marry only among themselves, and also the second (3). For a greater choice, and a proportion in their ages, a woman to chuse among the men of 21 to 22 years; and a man of that age to chuse among the women of 17 to 18, always supposing mutual consent, and each to remain at school till these ages are complete. Those who do not chuse, or do not find occasion to marry in this time and manner, will remain at school till they do. The masters and mistresses, in this state of society, will be humane and good people, and attentive to improve the natural and proper mental talents, and particularly in those to whom nature may not have been so kind in physical qualities.---When arrived at the marriageable ages, they may become masters or teachers, till they can marry.

Of the construction of the city for families. There will be ten buildings or streets on each side of the three squares, =40. Each divided into four *corpi* dwellings: each of which will have a corridor through the middle, and others sideways:---fifty apartments, each of four rooms;---two on the ground-floor, (which is somewhat raised, to be healthy) and two on the second floor, in which may be alcoves: on first floor will live a married couple; and on the second, two servants or friends, a married couple, with the children under six. In the center of the corridor will be a hall for dining 100 people (4); and over it, twelve
or

or fifteen bed-rooms: and under it, the kitchens and other offices: and under the corridor, the cellars; and at its extremity, another hall.

Thus the whole city will be communicable under cover, when necessary. These buildings will form eight squares. In these will be other fourteen buildings, viz. four churches, two hospitals, four stores, four theatres; these, with a covered passage to each, will form other eight squares (5).

Of the distribution of labour and occupation. That for the youth of first class being already settled, they will be appointed by the masters to the different liberal arts and sciences, according to their turn and disposition. So that each will be taught to serve the public and self the most effectually; all his efforts being then directed to the good of the whole, and to evade idleness, which is the source of all evil and of great unhappiness.

The trades and other arts will be distributed to the second class,---so as to produce beyond the consumption, as a provision for future events, and for the supply and exchange with other districts.

Most of second class will learn to shave and dress hair, and several hundred useful hands be thereby saved and gained.

Each corporate body of trade or science of both sexes, and each hall, will elect four *elders*, giving a preference to the single and widowed state, because of their having more attention to spare for their duties, of superintending the manners and employment of the youth, &c. The girls of first class will be instructed in sewing, making shirts, stockings, dress, and some in embroidery: those of the second, in spinning, weaving, with the trade of taylor for both sexes (with men for measuring). The married of both classes, being mistresses, will teach working, according as the number and duties of their families may permit. Each hall will have four cooks, with their four apprentices, who will also work at some other trade three hours per day, alternately. Also two providers, with their wives, for the care of provisions, furniture, &c.

At the extremity of each will be a post of twenty-five horses, twelve families, and twelve post-boys, with a post-master, who knows languages; with one of twenty-five also at court, and twelve spare horses for other uses; in all ~~as~~ 137, instead of 1000 as usual for this number of people.

people. Without economising in superfluities, the people cannot be raised to their rights. Here, coaches are unnecessary. This saving in the food of horses becomes real riches for men, in sheep, wool, fowls, eggs, leather, milk, butter, cheese, roots, greens, &c. Each parallelogram divided in three; the nearest division for gardens, the second for pasture, the third for grain; and furrrounding the whole with some forest. The great roads to be lined with trees, so as to form a covered walk on each side,---of fruit-trees, &c. according to the climate and soil.

Of the country business. The parallelograms of territory to the north and south, divided into two each, will form 4 ditto, + 2 to east and west; in all = 6. In the center of each will be built a square. Here will be arranged, the education of the youth, for the two sexes separate, with lodgings for the married,---nearly as in the city. This will form a village. In each of the four sides will be a public building, viz. a church,---an hospital,---a store for grain, &c. and a theatre: besides two other stores; one near the gardens; the other near the fields, but contiguous to each other,---with sufficient houses for cattle (5). Those for pigs to be near the gardens, whence they may be fed with the offals; together with some houses for gardeners and their families, who will live and eat together, in smaller halls: and they will have apprentices of 10 years, having received their first education.

Near the squares and schools will be built the ovens, furnaces, mills, wash-houses, butcheries, saw-pits. Those of assiduous labour to be relieved frequently.---The education of both sexes to be here nearly the same as that of the second class in the city, viz. to write, read, arithmetic; and for the boys, a little practical geometry. Their trades will be those of farming, turner, weaver, cooper, baker, butcher;---with the management of furnaces or kilns for pottery, glass, bricks, lime;---millers, maltsters, &c. The trade of sawyer, turner, weaver, carpenter, cooper, will be partially learnt by all or most, that they may employ the spare time of their six hours per day, as the lands or weather may give occasion. The girls will not work in the fields, but be employed at the trades, as in town (6),---in woollen, linen, or silk works. Any alteration, when necessary, in these plans, must be done by common consent of all concerned: of masters and

corporate bodies, ministry, employers, and employed. The corps of hunters and fishers will consist of the masters of the first and second class of the country. The masters of the first will therefore learn to manage and conduct vessels, and to ride. These offices must however be changeable, and the unmarried have rather the preference. To both there will be apprentices of both classes, of age of 19 to 22. The country purveyors will order the hunting and fishing, according to the proper seasons and wants of the district.

The *marine* for the export and import, and the body of consuls in foreign ports, will be regulated by the sovereign and his ministry, jointly with the ministers or magistrates of the districts that have sea-ports, and these also will be appointed by the sovereign.

Of the military. All that can bear arms are of course military: this being a condition of the contract. The masters of first class are the officers, and all the rest private.---Each district will have 50 horsemen, who will be taken proportionally from the post and the hunters. The president and vice ditto will command their districts, and the sovereign the whole. Only defensive war can be made, and therefore within the state. Off duty, none can carry arms. At the schools will be armories, where, after exercise, the arms will be deposited. The officer has no other right (authority) over the private, but to instruct him. If the soldier fails in his duty, he must be tried in a legal manner. All their actions and behaviour will be regulated by a mild and zealous prudence. The military exercises will be considered by all as a fine amusement, and will create respect with foreign states.---A state or nation of four millions of inhabitants, in this form, would furnish 500,000 fighting men; a force that might defy all possible attack. The expences of war would be nothing.

No nation could ever furnish the expence, numbers, or discipline necessary to vanquish half a million of persons so trained and educated, fighting for their real country and interest: and as their riches would consist mostly in labour, what could tempt any state to attack them? So that it might then be hoped the horrid monster War, which robs and exterminates the vanquish'd, ruins and vitiates the vanquisher, might then be banish'd the earth.

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Of dress. As the whole are military, the dress is at once determined. Each trade may form a corps. Only two kinds of stuff or cloth will be necessary: the best, for the first class on holidays. The cloaths, the second year, will be cut into working-jackets, &c. for town and country. Officers will be distinguished; the corps by colours: and all may be of the most elegant make; and the whole form one of the finest spectacles ever seen. As this subject has never yet been properly studied, nor an object of attention to the public wisdom and taste. The president and vice ditto, and royal family, will be distinguished by their dress, of embroidery, &c. In the same simple, uniform, and elegant taste may the women be dressed, and contrive to be far more becoming, and to take much less time than any of the present modes. Gold, silver, jewels, never to be used in dress—only by the sovereign, and according to rules to be established. Each person to have a silver spoon, but nothing as treasure. The women to have some graceful ornaments, valuable for taste, but not for materials, and all uniform alike. The rooms will have the least possible tapestry, and mostly pictures and statues.

National treasure. All the gold and silver found in the state, to be coined into money, and placed in the public treasure, in the vaults of the ministerial palace: the chief part in that of the capital, and the rest properly divided to each district, to serve for the foreign commerce; and that of the sovereign at the capital, for the marine, for the consuls abroad, for public contracts, &c.—In these treasuries will also be deposited, monthly, all other monies that come into the country, as from travellers, the post, for public spectacles, letters, &c. a certain proportion always sent to the capital treasure. Each treasury to have seven keys: the first and last to be held by the sovereign, and by the president or vice ditto; the other five by five elders of the different bodies, three of the second class, and two of the first: all of whom will attend the monthly opening and settling the public inventory.

Education—of the royal family. All the masters will attend the court, and will be chosen by the sovereign, to assist in the royal education, as he, with his counsel, shall appoint. Besides the common education, they will be taught the general principles or theory of every thing,

so as to judge of the execution of every man's duty ; only their intelligence in military and constitutional matters must be complete, in theory and practice. The males of royal family, after 19, will assist at council and other functions of government, occasionally, leaving time for study. At 22, they will chuse a wife in first class, among those of the whole nation from 17 to 18 years,---mutual consent always supposed. It would not be just to render sovereigns unhappy while employed in the public felicity, nor to restrain their choice to a few females whom they never saw : an injurious policy which would not only be useless, but hurtful to our society. They will then be sent president to such district as the sovereign shall chuse, independent on him, as every individual must be dependent only on the constitution. The eldest will always succeed to the sovereignty ; and if under age, 22, will be assisted by a regency of the ministry. The royal females will be educated as those of first class, with the addition of embroidery, &c. ; at 18 will chuse a husband in first class, of 21 to 22, which gives them a right to be president. They will visit the whole country at different times, with the father or head of the family ; the males after 19, and the females after 16. The sovereign may occasionally chuse from vice-presidents to fill any of the first places,---but only from the masters of first class in that district : and these not to rise higher, being preferred only to supply the deficiencies of the royal family in both lines.

If both male and female sovereigns should fail, the people will chuse a sovereign among the vice-presidents, in such form as all may vote.

The education of presidents' children will be the same as those of the sovereign ; but those of the vice-presidents will have the common education : the sovereign family having the entire administration, by the social contract.

The administration. The sovereign district will be nearly central. In the palace, the ministry, which will consist of four negotianti (men of business) of the first class, with four apprentices ; and four economists, or purveyors, with their four apprentices, = 8, who will generally marry, and remain in the palace, and their office be considered as during life, or good behaviour ; and to be succeeded by their apprentices : and also two of the best masters of each science,

science, and of each art or trade, of six years standing. These being arranged into three for the first, and four for the second class, with one for agriculture; in all about 16. These 24, with the sovereign, = 25, form the administration. The sovereign has three votes, and each of the others one. The 16 masters of sciences and arts to be frequently changed, perhaps quarterly, that all may have their turn, and also time for their professional vocations.

Each village will also have four purveyors, elective (with approbation of the ministry) from the elder masters of 10 years standing, with their four apprentices. They will superintend the canton; and for this have the command of two of the twelve horses before-mentioned, to visit and regulate the canton, its funds and products, and see what is ready for consumption. They will order all the business of agriculture, the times of planting and sowing, of hunting and fishing, and distribute the labour, &c.

In the general administration;--a purveyor of each canton will have received orders and a list, the day before, of what is to be sent from his canton to the city and country halls. They will also have ordered the masters of the stables near the gardens to carry the proper daily supply to the country stores, seeing that all the provisions carried thither, and delivered by the masters, as meat, fowls, roots, herbage, shall be cleaned and ready for use; that the city may be kept clean and wholesome, and the offals being useful in the country. The keeper of this daily store will attend from seven till one o'clock; will receive these articles, and keep a list of the quantities, and of the masters from whom received. The purveyors will take care to order the post-master of their parallelogram to send the carts necessary for the carriage of these provisions to town, which will be there, with the six purveyors, at seven o'clock in the morning. The purveyors will then examine, by the list of the store-keeper, if their orders have been duly executed,--will give the proper receipts to the store-keeper, and will have the whole carried to the city, and deliver them to the purveyors of the city halls, taking their receipts: these will form lists of such provisions, and hang them up in their respective halls: and as all may enter the halls, all will watch and see that the spirit of equality is preserved in the distribution

bution of the common necessities: and by means of receipts, any error or neglect will be easily detected.---The conveyance in town will be by horses, and in the country, by oxen.

This distribution finished, the carts will return, carrying whatever may be wanted in the country, which they will deliver to the store-keepers there, and which the purveyors will see distributed where wanted;--such as linen to bleach or wash, ashes, manure, &c.

After the distribution will assemble, an economist of the ministry, with his secretary, the six purveyors of the canton, four of those from the city halls; two of first class, and two of second; and consulting, will form a list for the provisions of the following day, for the respective halls. The country purveyors will have the state of provisions of their cantons, and proper lists of that which each may best furnish, &c. will thence be formed, and the execution properly distributed. The general list will remain with the economist, and abstracts be sent to the country store-keepers, the execution directed by the six country purveyors, and abstracts for the different halls to be sent to each of them.

Besides these daily duties, the 1st of the month, the purveyors of the cantons will make an exact report, to the economist, of the stock and produce of their cantons, and of the wants of their inhabitants in the city, and he will enter and order them, if according to the constitution. On the same 1st day, two other economists will visit the magazines, and, comparing the receipts of the masters and elders of the different corporate trades, will see that all is in order and entire, and corresponding with the actual state of stock and provisions in store, under the different store-keepers:--and the day after, these three economists will make their general report, to the ministers, of the present state of the whole stock, and of the daily consumption for the past month, for the whole district. From these, the minister will readily calculate the annual wants of the district, see and compare the funds and produce, with the degrees of plenty or scarcity of the different articles. This statement will be sent to all the different ministers of the kingdom, so that all may know the state of each district.

The first, most important, and natural commerce, is the internal, between the different districts. The negozianti

gozianti will thence observe the general interior statement, and that of each, and will see the most practicable and necessary means of executing these internal exchanges, and between which of the districts: this he will state to the ministers; they will consult and deliberate, and the presidents or vice ditto will report the result to the sovereign ministry. There it will be examined; and if found practicable, economical, just, and according to the constitution,—to the principles of equality between the people and the districts, they will order the execution. Each post will carry every thing to be so transported, to the next,—till it arrives at its destination.—If this exchange or commerce is not practicable within the kingdom, the negozianti of the sovereign administration will cause it to be executed with some foreign country, by means of their consuls, who they will keep only in such places as they may judge most necessary and advantageous. This commerce will be done by barter, or in specie, but without any debts or credit (7).

The ministry will cause a monthly statement of each district throughout the kingdom to be printed, (there being no other printing-office but this allowed.) In these will be detailed all the articles that are thus to be exchanged between districts, or with foreign countries. He will take care that nothing improper or superfluous shall enter the country:—such as tobacco: by keeping it from the young people, it will be easily banished, in one generation, and all be delivered from a nasty and expensive habit (7).—He will also have notified, in the same periodical papers, all the useful discoveries in art or science, tending to general good,—and also those of other countries, which will be transmitted home by the consuls.—To encourage such objects, all those who, in the course of last month, shall have advanced and made the most useful progress, the masters will give a mark or badge, to be worn during the next month. Whoever shall invent any thing of real utility or pleasure, must be rewarded:—not by riches, nor idleness, nor even repose. Such are not the rewards of genius—of merit; being only apparent good, that is, real evils. They will be rewarded in the following manner: there will be a public box, into which every author will throw his work, without his name, but only his mark by which he may know it.—The elders will assemble every two months; they

they will examine the works of one month, and towards the end of the third, will determine their different degrees of merit, whether of the first or second order; these opinions they will write in an abbreviated manner, and transmit to the sovereign, and he will transmit them to the elders of his district, for their opinions: and on these two sets of opinions the sovereign will decide on the degrees of merit; whether to be crowned,---or of first or second order; and order them to be abstracted into the monthly publications; and on his annual or quarterly visits, will confer the due honours: and on these occasions the elders will report of others whose talents and merits may deserve notice and reward; and the sovereign, with his court, will notice and honour them accordingly, and their names will be enrolled in the public prints. For these and such purposes, the sovereign and his family, with the sons above 19, and the daughters above 16, with two ministers, an economist, a negoziante, and a master from each corps or body, will go every six months to visit the districts of one-fourth of the kingdom; so that in two years all will be visited. The sovereign is the father of his people, and the father and his children should know each other. The chief object of this visit will be to see the code is properly executed: and as a father, he will reward the deserving (13). The premiums will consist of two orders; one for first class, and the other for the second. If one who has obtained the second should gain the first, he will then return the second to the sovereign: only the sovereign can wear both, which will be larger, and on a *fascia*, in real jewels; the others only in paste. The women are likewise admitted to these honors.---The sons and daughters of the sovereign, and the presidents, will likewise wear both orders, if obtained, only upon a narrower *fascia*, and of the common size. The vice-presidents and their wives may wear that of first class, on a *fascia* in real jewels, but of the ordinary size.

The sovereign will then cause to be printed, in the public papers, the works that have been crowned, with the names and talents of those who have been thus honored, on his visits. These will only be abstracts or abridgements of the works. The entire works will be printed apart: two copies will be sent to each public library of each district, so all may read them. The rest
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of the copies the minister may sell in foreign countries; half the profits will go to the royal treasure, and the other to the treasury of the author's district. Of these public prints, 150 will be sent to all the different districts of the kingdom,---to the public halls, where all may read them, make their reflections, and study the means of perpetually advancing the public good.

(*) All useless books will be prohibited; for they become pernicious. They will be judged by the elders of the supreme district, and forbidden, if not tending to economy, prosperity, or progress of any useful art or science. In short, all useless *bel esprit* will be proscribed, and only good sense, reason, and virtue be cultivated.—On this plan it is evident that each has a right, and must be animated and encouraged, to give his reflections to the public: but as these, from ignorance or malice, may not be advantageous, but prejudicial to society, 'tis the duty of the ministry to crush such seeds in embryo, prevent the infection, and bury them in oblivion: this can only be done by an impartial revision and examination before they are exposed to the public eye (8).

By the monthly papers each individual may be informed of the objects of export and import of the state and district, and may use his right of observing if the convoys are according to rule. No foreign merchant can trade, but through the supreme ministry, who can only deal in those articles as exposed in public prints, according to the wants of the district. The right of transit to foreign merchandise will be granted, as a right of nations, on paying the expence of carriage, highways, &c. but no duties. But none of it can remain in the kingdom, either as present or loan, or on any pretext whatsoever.

To pursue the employment of the day.---A carriage will go daily from court, at seven, with an economist and his secretary, a master of agriculture, and one of first class; (all carriages, including carts, post-chaises, &c. to be so constructed, that the driver be under cover. 'Tis a shame to see a man exposed to all the intemperance of weather, without necessity, merely to save a fellow-creature from the same.) These four ministerial persons will visit one canton per day, so that all the six will be visited within the week. With the day-books of the commissions and provisions, they will see if the country administration is exact; will examine the culture, the

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schools,

schools, the manufactures, magazines, and see that all is conformable to the constitution. They will hear such complaints as belong to their province, as will be shewn, and mark the practical neglects, and report the whole to ministry.

Breakfast, from nine to ten, of the produce of the country, when possible. At ten, all will be at their business. Then the sovereign, with the president or vice ditto, with an economist, and a master of each art and science, will visit the schools, halls, magazines, &c. of the city; in coach or on foot, as they please. They will make all the necessary inquiries to know if every thing is according to the constitution. They will also, in this form, visit once a month, on six different days, the six cantons, instead of the economist, and will see if his reports have been just. All these visitors of town and country will have returned by twelve, and will assemble in the ministerial palace. They will together examine and consult on the state of the district, regulate the economy, and see the practical defects in individual duties, and order these to appear before them the next day.---We shall speak of the form of process, on finishing the employment of the day.

The *hospitals*---will be ample, magnificent, and commodious, with baths for the sick, besides the public baths for general health and cleanliness. Two physicians and a surgeon for the hospital of one part of the city, and the same number for the other, will, every morning between seven and nine, visit all the corridors and schools; if any diseases are found that require attention, they will be carried to the hospital, as no sick must remain in their rooms, except the sovereign, president, and vice ditto.---There will always be ready, physicians, medicines, and assistance, for any accident throughout the city (9).

As to *emigration*,---None can quit the kingdom without leave or order; emigration being incompatible with the constitution and the social contract (10.) Each having received his first existence and education in and from the society, is therefore a member of it, and to which, by these rights, he is born with duties which certainly cannot be fulfilled by flight. This erroneous liberty might be justly claimed by various individuals under former constitutions: subjects of an ungrateful country, to which they owed nothing, having taken no care of their education,

cation, nor even of their natural right, their subsistence, for which so many are driven to run about the world, vagabonds or mendicants. The sovereign can send and maintain abroad, such as may be necessary for the interest of the state. If some, from aversion to their situation, (which must be rare) or to the climate, or place disagreeing with their health, they may wish to change to some other district; they will make application to the minister, and he to the sovereign, who may, with the consent of the other districts, make such exchanges, and they may be granted without much difficulty; provided their loss to the district, which has brought them up, is not too great. Such difficulty would be a compliment to their talents, and, by a noble pride, repay them for the refusal.

Foreigners---must be laid under some farther regulations. Each must give his name and passport to the first post-master on entering the country, in order to receive a billet, to enable him to proceed and be received in the different halls, &c. He will be told, he cannot stay above a month in the country, less or more, according to the extent of it; nor above three days in any district. If he has any merchandize, it cannot be admitted, but in transit; nor can any of it be left to any person whatever, on any pretext, as gift, or, &c. nor would he find any who would accept of such, having no use for it.--He cannot live nor establish himself in the country. His different principles and education would spoil the order, and corrupt the constitution. If any foreign potentate should wish to send any one to learn any art or science, or form of constitution; this may be regulated between the sovereigns; and may be thus rendered serviceable to all parties, and prejudicial to none. Whoever lives and is educated in this our constitution, must suppose that each has a real country, (*patria*) and to which, he is engaged in duties; and receiving emigrants would be encouraging emigration, and thence a failure in their duties. Travellers will be lodged, for the time fixed, at the halls; where there will be an elder, a receiver for the purpose, who will know some foreign languages, and who will attend them, and watch their conduct; and if he finds this or their conversation tending to disturb the constitution, they will be sent away. The sovereign will notify to the people such foreigners as are admitted, and will oblige them to live according to the constitution,

Festivals. First, divine service, in the greatest possible devotion and solemn magnificence; and which will be repeated three times in each church; from eight to half past nine, from ten to half past eleven, and from twelve to half past one. One hour will be employed in sacrament or prayer, with the best music of the district; and half an hour for sermon. On one festival day the orator will treat of religion; and on the other, of the constitution. He will endeavour to induce the people to be just, from love, and thence render them virtuous. The efficacious means to make them love and prize their constitution, will be to shew them the purity, justice, and advantages of it; and paint to them, in real and lively colours, the horrors of that which they have happily left. After divine service, the day will be passed as usual. If any considerable number of any dissenting or different religions should be found in the state, they will be assembled so as to live together in their different districts, but under the same constitutional laws and regulations. Uniformity in religious sentiments prevents disputes and aversions, to which a diversity of opinion is always subject (11).

Each family of the first class will have a man and a maid servant, man and wife, but who have no children. Those of the second class will have a woman servant, but a widow; and if there are not widows enough, may have a married woman without children; and though her husband may lodge there, he is not to serve the family. The male and female servants will dine in the hall of the corridor where they live, and the apprentices will serve them. The female servants, however, who are in families that have children, will go a little before one to dine at their hall: they, and the children under their care, will dine with them, in their respective habitations, in presence of the mother. At two, will finish the first table; at half past two, will be ready the second table, for the first class, and those of first table will serve them. At four, all the dinners will be over, and also the labour.

The economists, the negozianti, and the purveyors, together, will form a permanent plan for the dinners and number of dishes; in which they will consider, 1st, as proportioned to the produce of the district, which will be proportioned to the number who labour. The number being nearly equal in all the districts, hence the produce will

will likewise be nearly equal; and hence the living in all should be nearly alike. 2dly, That there be no abundance of superfluities, and nothing necessary wanting. By such means only can man obtain his rights, the well-being and real happiness of which he is capable. 3dly, As all are equal in rights, the tables and dinners ought all to be nearly equal, and if any small differences should be admitted, let them see that they be not real, nor any detriment to the rights of others: as we have seen that the breaking of any essential equilibrium would deprive the whole of their natural rights, and they would all become, in divers ways, equally miserable and unhappy (14).

The cooks, with the physicians, will fix the art of cookery, savory and healthy.

The mind is ever active, and wants not repose; the body tires, and requires it. If, in this interval, the mind is not occupied, behold idleness. In this state, man not only languishes into melancholy, but begins to form false objects of desires, which fermenting in his imagination, from the pain of acquisition, and the tedium of possession, entice him by the appearance of pleasure; occupy his fancy; and, by habit, become familiar, and at last necessary to him. Thence proceed the inquietude of desire, and vicious efforts, which, by false appearances and apparent good, corrupt his morals, and render him miserable. Legislation ought never to lose sight of its object, which is to render social man just with himself and others, and thence happy, and should never, therefore, leave him a prey to idleness: and as he is incapable of perpetual bodily labour, his mind must therefore be employed, with a proportioned moderate exercise to the body, according to its wants.—With this view, at four o'clock will begin instructive amusements. A part of the scholars, with a master or more,—the children, with their mothers or maids, will go alternately to walk, or visit their relations; another part, alternately, may go to play at ball, football, nine-pins, &c. all in sight of all, in the squares; some to dance, others to fence: those above ten years, alternately, to military exercises. And all who shew any natural disposition, should be exercised in music, vocal and instrumental. In short, from four to seven, these and other instructive amusements will be the object with both sexes.

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At seven, will be opened all the theatres and all the halls. In the four theatres will be, in one, a serious heroic opera, but not tragic. In another, a comic opera: in another, a comedy, with a farce or pantomime. The actors and musicians will be all those who are capable, directed by the music-masters and authors. The scholars must always obey, and act and take what parts are allotted them. Those already in family will be at liberty to act or not, as they please. That the theatres may be the more instructive, the subjects brought before the spectators will often be the barbarous and insane customs of their ancestors, produced by their barbarous and insane constitutions.—But let the authors beware of exposing all these nefarious customs, nor any in all their turpitude:—never to bring forward, for example, that of duelling,—nor of conquest,---nor of slavery;---nor the abuses of bastilles, nor of inquisitions, nor toleration: and still less the prostitution of the sex. Such brutal deformities must never be seen by a just and virtuous people. They would thence become incredulous to the moral lessons they might afterwards receive. They must not believe there could ever exist such people, so badly organized, and thereby driven to such abominable extremes, and so unnaturally corrupted. Without having recourse to such revolting scenes, rational arguments, and more probable incidents, both in number and substance, might be found, sufficient for the daily changes, and to shew them enough of the infernal labyrinth from which they had so fortunately escaped, and to render their present happy constitution both amiable and interesting to them.

The halls will be open for dances,---for reading the public papers,---for play,---(but never for any pecuniary interest.) Instructive games will be invented. There will be a box, where the women, who chuse to dance, will put in their names, and another for the men. A master of ceremonies will regulate the dances, and number of couples. From each box will be drawn the names, which will determine the turns, partners, and places. When the boxes are empty, the names may be put in again, if they chuse to dance more: the royal family and all are included in this regulation.---The actors will be applauded by an established mark, mode, and manner; all have the equal merit of endeavouring to divert the public.

—That

—That none may be tired with acting too often, the masters will be able to form different companies, to relieve each other. In winter, every evening, and in summer twice a week, will be opened all the spectacles and diversions—Two other evenings per week, in summer, they may go to the country, to the village amusements and dances; and three times a week, for the military exercises.

At the theatres and halls will be side-tables, with cold collation and refreshment, but no formal supper. Both in winter and summer, there will sometimes be general balls, in the theatres, (constructed on purpose) where the above order, of mixing all the classes, will be observed. At ten, all amusements finish; and at eleven, all the theatres are shut, and all go to rest.

That the married women and maid-servants may not lose all relish for the married state, with suckling and taking care of children, improved methods of nourishing them will be discovered and established, to diminish the toils of the mothers; particularly in the evenings and nights, to avoid giving them suck, and not to lose their own amusements.—The nursery-maids may be relieved sometimes by the mothers, and sometimes by other women advanced in years, who often love that sort of life.

Criminal trials. 'Tis not easy to conceive how a people so constituted can commit any very notable error or crime. With nothing to fear, as none have the liberty to be unjust;—with nothing to wish, as each possesses all he can want or use;—all essentially equal, dependent only on justice,—on the constitution; having no objects of competition;—no cruel enemies, jealous or insidious persecutors above him; nor blackguards and beggars below him, to vanquish: all must be happy, and love and assist each other, and the constitution on which their happiness so obviously depends. We may be equally astonished, in the present state of things, to find any remains of virtue or justice left among the present miserable people. In their wretched dependent, and often oppressed condition,—with every temptation to evil, and none to good; dependent on the caprices of vicious superiors, (interested only in the infraction of the laws) with what justice or hope can we expect that any exterior force or vigilance can ever suppress or extinguish the fatal deleterious effects of such powerful errors, or the produce of such violent
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and unmerited situation?---If, therefore, we give here a criminal form of trial, it is more to spread through the society a salutary kind of fear, that may stop in its source any first attempts of corruption, and stifle it in the cradle : --to prevent rather than to punish evil, which is the only true object of legislation.---1st, It will be well known that every individual, by any transgression, offends the whole; and hence, by the spirit and object of the social contract, 'tis the interest and positive duty of each, and of all, to fly to the first and least outcry for help; to interpose in the smallest litigation; to oppose every the least transgression, and prevent its effects as much as possible; to order the cessation of it, and to intimate an appearance before the first tribunal. Whoever does not all this, fails in his duty, and becomes an accomplice; and he who does not obey, greatly aggravates his offence, however slight in itself.

The first tribunal will be the elders of that body to which the delinquent belongs.---Four of them will first examine verbally into the degree of guilt or criminality. These degrees may be classed into three, and called, 1st, Neglect; 2d, Trespas; 3d, Crime. For example, obstinate idleness,---harsh or hurtful words, may come under 1st; failure and blows under 2d; and murder under 3d.

In 1st, *Neglect*, will be included all improper actions, short of injuring or breaking any of the articles of the constitution. For example, all must labour. *Titus* labours, but negligently;---he deprives the public flock of labour, of some parts---in quantity or duration,---of time or exertion. This is neglect. But if he was to cease entirely to labour, or his negligence be frequent and considerable, even after being admonished three times by first tribunal, it then becomes *transgression*;---as if *quasi* refusing to work, and thereby against the contract and constitution. One more example will bring us to the full knowledge of the three degrees. Men are in society for defence against the strongest, even of the individuals against each other. *Titus* attacks *Paul*, with biting, satyrical or abusive language: from this slight attack he may defend himself, or not suffer essentially;---still it is *neglect* or failure. *Titus* pursues *Paul*, and beats him: this is against the constitution and rights of its members, and becomes *transgression*. *Titus* kills *Paul*: this is *crime*; which cannot however be repaired.---Now as to the process,

cess. If the first tribunal of four elders find only the 1st degree, *neglect*, they will generally be able amicably to compose the matter; and, convincing such of their error and danger, restore them to their character and duty. However, they must know that their names will be written in a book; and if they should be brought there nine times more, the tenth time, they must then be reported to the supreme or ministerial court.

This court will likewise try to cure such characters by amicable and salutary reprehensions. If the guilty person should come again before this tribunal, (i.e. again ten times before the first) he will be accused to the ministry, who, for a second time, will have his name written and exposed in the halls, which will be telling the public to have an eye on so dangerous a member. If this is still insufficient to cure him, and he should come a third time (or again ten times to first tribunal) he and his crime will be again exposed in the halls, but for a longer time, according to the degree of guilt; and likewise that he be considered by all as an enemy, and hence deprived of all communication, (except with his family)—on pain of being considered as his accomplice:—obliging him, however, to appear in public. But the time of punishment being finished, he will be received back into society, as if always innocent. While any hope of cure remains, he must never be abandoned, nor thrown into despair, by asperity, &c.—If he should unfortunately be accused a fourth time, to the ministerial court, his crime is become higher. He cannot belong any more to the society, having broken some of its essential parts. As it is not just, and is even against the right of nations, to load other states with our bad subjects (10);—near one of our cities will be a fort, where such delinquents will be confined for two years: there they will labour ten hours per day; but their living as usual. No delinquent must be punished by the privation of that which is his right by nature:—and a treatment of obvious violence and injustice will produce despair, and more vice, instead of cure, without being his fault.—Those of two years confinement will be sent, on being released, to some other district, not their own:—and if any of them should again return to same course or degree of guilt, he must be considered as incurable, cut off from the society, and confined to the fort *for life*.—In case of obstinacy, not to work, or other mischief,

mischief, the commandant of the fort will have power to shut him up alone, for which there will be some solitary cells; and his food may then be curtailed---as a physical cure.—Thus the degrees of guilt are perceived.

Those who are at first found and reported guilty of *crime*, will be at once accused to ministry, and if found guilty there, on examination and plurality of votes, will be exposed in the halls, and deprived of communication,—but with his family;—the time, according to the guilt.—And if unfortunately returned a second time guilty of *crime*,---it will be four years to the fort; and for a third time, it will be *for life*. Much (though not all) will depend on the strict execution of a few merciful and just laws, but which will probably become yearly less necessary. As ministry and magistrates will pay great attention to education and manners,---to the rigid, though pleasant administration of all parts of the constitution. As every disorder or crime that happens in society, denotes some imperfection in the constitution, or defect in the administration. Those found guilty, on first report, of the very *highest crimes*, will be condemned to the fort for life; and perhaps some years solitary imprisonment, according to the aggravation, and, last, the reduction of food. The elders, when criminal, will be accused before those of another hall.

None of the twenty-four members of the ministry can be accused of guilt. The vigilance of the sovereign, president, or vice ditto, will supply the place of tribunal. If any of them, or their wives, should be strongly suspected of *crime*, the suspicions and the reasons must be communicated to four elders of different halls, two of the first, and two of the second class: these will examine well the fact, will form a process secretly, and if found really culpable, thirty elders will form an accusation to the ministry; and he, with the thirty elders, will proceed in the usual way to his trial. If a vice-president, wife, or family, by the same procedure, should be found guilty of *crime*, they will, on the last proceedings, be condemned by a suspension from their post; but the wives or children will be condemned, as others. The sovereign, on his visit, will re-examine the process; and if he finds him guilty, will appoint another. The presidents will be judged in the same forms as the vice ditto; but the sovereign, by a plurality of his visiting court, may pardon him;

him; removing him to another district, which will be advertised of his crime; and if, by the same procedure, he should there be again found guilty of *crime*, he will be displaced for ever,---to the rank of master of first class, as likewise the vice ditto.---Their children not to lose any of their rights. - All these proceedings to be an hour after dinner, that all who chuse may attend.

Ye who seem destined to rule this earth; and ye who partake in the cares, burdens, honours, of thrones, despise not a *code* which seems to diminish the ordinary authority of sovereigns. A very little reflection will shew, that it would only be delivering you from a burden which is beyond the human powers to bear. If you can survey the advantages of such diminished authority, the small sacrifice will also diminish, and become easy and agreeable. In a constitution where all must move by the powers of form, of law, and order, the sovereign and his ministers are delivered from much responsibility, danger, and secret distress.---With a sufficient and just authority, limited, directed, and thereby secured,---with nothing to fear or to regret;---only to enjoy the happy spectacle of a beautiful harmony, and the general felicity, firmly built on interior order, on justice and virtue,---on essential equality;---where all mutually love and support each other;---all equally contented, satisfied, grateful to the hand that moves and directs the whole.---What a satisfactory return and reward then to the sovereign for all his cares!--how solid his throne!--how respected abroad! All this to be purchased---only by---being delivered from a frivolous burden!--from a load of luxury, inconvenient and useless to self, and oppressive to the public.---Then, only, a sovereign may be said to reign, secure and happy, because in the hearts of his subjects. And ye subjects,---unhappy mortals! who, in every rank and condition, lead a life either of perpetual langour and sloth, or of turbid and vicious agitation, uncertainty and misery,---behold the exchange that is within your reach. 'Tis like the choice of life or death,---of salvation or perdition,---all in your hands.---So chuse.

If the task of execution should appear too arduous, attend and behold how easy various ways may be opened, that lead to the desired object; and without distressing any, but advantageous to all.

PART

PART IV.

Practical and political Plan, for beginning and establishing the Constitution.

THOSE who are already completely formed to the present mode of society by habit and education, and already naturalized to the delirium of present custom and public opinion, we must, perhaps, leave for a time to their bitter nourishment and fanatical food of mistaken and injurious liberty, &c. When they become sensible to the good of humanity, and to their true interest, they will readily join our constitution, always open to them, in the manner to be indicated:—but never by violence, which is in its nature unjust. Their constitutional errors, from education and opinion, depend not on themselves; and it would only irritate, and drive them, through disorder and resistance, into revolt, ever the worst of all remedies, and a bad foundation for a new constitution.

Let us begin then by the younger part of society, and receive boys from 5 to 13 years, and girls from 5 to 10. The children of nobility and gentry, who live by their estates, and those employed in the liberal arts; in short, of all those considered as gentlemen, will be enrolled in the first class. This and some other small distinctions, granted them by the constitution, being in justice their due, and of which the second class cannot complain, as from their funds must chiefly proceed the expences of the establishment, by a voluntary and no inconvenient cession of a part of their property: nor, 2dly, is any thing thus taken from the common rights, or public happiness; and, 3dly, a pacific and satisfactory order is thus given to the whole (12.)

This, of the first expence, is the only difficulty attending the project;—that of the first, necessary buildings. As, 1st, That of 18 houses of education, constructed as

above-mentioned, with the other public buildings, and those of the country, so as to form the first two districts. —But this difficulty may not be considerable, when once begun to be understood. First, 10 miles square, of territory, for about 30,000 inhabitants, as first district. Supposing the whole state to contain 500 of such districts; —($\times 30,000 = 15$ million inhabitants.) Taking such of their children as they should chuse thus to provide for, from about 500 of the richest families; these, by a cession of one-fourth of their estates or property, to the new establishment, will acquire a right of vice-presidency to their eldest or heirs, (who will thus become like little happy sovereigns) which may probably satisfy the family pride and interest; as by this they will be at once liberated from the maintenance, education, dowers, and future state of such children.

Sumptuary regulations might likewise then begin more easily to be established on the remainder of a dying society,---as to curtail and limit the expence of dress,---the number of servants and horses. For example, those who keep 90 horses, to reduce them to 30,—by which their habitual idleness and luxury might be equally indulged; and those of 30 servants, to reduce to 10, by whom they may be only—better served. And by a proportional reduction to all, their relative rank or importance will be preserved, and themselves delivered from an incommodious burden,---a source of pride, vanity, trouble, and inconvenience. Then may be readily spared, to the new districts, two horses, one groom, and two servants, for each ten diminished, together with their maintenance.—The other servants, hereby thrown out of employ, will find it in the district, dismissing generally those who have some trade or talent that may there be useful.

Part of the estates of colleges, universities, schools, hospitals, and other public bodies, may also be transferred to the districts, proportioned to the then gradual reduction of their expences by this change. Supposing four universities in the state, by the youth under 13 being removed to the new districts, the remainder above that age may be accommodated in the remaining two, and the estates or rents of the other two transferred to the districts. A voluntary subscription may also be opened, and doubtless the state or government, as the public expences diminished, and the sovereign to promote it by
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an example of generosity,—would soon sufficiently furnish the expence. But if all these should prove insufficient, a small additional land-tax, with some others on merchants and shops, &c. (but not on workmen) would be cheerfully paid, and add more than sufficient, not only for two, but soon for six or eight districts. The labour and materials would soon be furnished, from the gradual diminishing demand every where else;—and all the buildings be soon finished, so as to dry for health.

A primary object will be to fill the first districts as fast as possible, with inhabitants, and especially the country or villages; and, with good land, immense savings will soon be made:—likewise proper purchases and exchanges, so as to throw the first district into a proper form and situation.—(Such attentions, and to the education, &c. would soon recommend the scheme to the world so strongly, as to become irresistible.)

The buildings once finished and habitable, the youth of first class will each bring furniture for two rooms, four pair of sheets, two silver spoons,—(one of them to serve those of second class, who may not be equal to the expence.) Each to bring cloaths for first year, of the military make, as prescribed.—At the end of first year, there will be considerable savings: as, 1st, Rents from lands not yet occupied. 2d, Spare produce of the district, intended for 30,000, and may not first year amount to 20,000. 3d, From produce of all our trades and manufactures, as all come clothed for first year. 4th, From the hereditary patrimonies falling to some members; as on entering, all they possess, or can claim, enters with them. With all these savings, the first two will soon be able to go on with a third district, and then again with a fourth, &c. so as to finish the whole kingdom within 20 years. After six years, half the masons, &c. may be sent to begin the buildings for new districts, and the other half remain, to finish those begun, and to build for the families, according to the constitution. All this gradually, from first to second, &c.

The few who may perhaps remain, for a time, determined against all innovation whatever,—may yet, in time, be persuaded to follow the rest—with reason, their quiet and true happiness:—and which may always be easily done: and the mode will be prescribed by the constitution: as any of the five hundred opulent families, above-mentioned

tioned, may incorporate their family and riches, and neighbourhood, &c. into a district, in the new form; and the sovereign, in a mode prescribed, may grant to such family the vice-presidency (12).

Merchants, &c. whose fortunes may not reach to make them one of the five hundred, may however incorporate their children, property, &c. and thereby procure to one of them the employment of economist, or minister of the district, a place considered for life. Others, properly qualified, may thus procure being appointed masters, actors, teachers, and all rapidly promote the institution. Various other ways may be found of establishing and promoting so beneficial a system, by ministers and men of sense. This is only offered as one of the most peaceful and rational, by attempting to include the present interests,—of the different ranks, passions, habits (13).

Many might probably soon be brought to sacrifice several or all exclusive privileges, to a rational and practicable scheme of general happiness;—especially when not compelled by any force, despair, or violence (14).

We find the people every where timidly groaning under oppression, produced from ignorance and error, and which, daily augmenting by corruption, becomes at length insupportable, and inevitably at last arms the blind hand of Despair, which, unable to trace the distant causes, destroys the nearest,—the present, though perhaps innocent, administration:—this, then, generally flies to some little temporary shift or lenitive, which only disarms and satisfies for a while; but soon discovering the cheat, the people gradually discover that they have not *all their rights*;—nor will they ever be satisfied till they have;—but must ever keep going round the eternal vicious circle of ignorance, through stupid quiet, discontent, despair, revolt. And this must ever be the case, till the germ of misery and desolation is rooted out of society;—accursed—individual property;—with the liberty of tearing and amassing it by chance, rapacity, roguery, from each other, and from the common stock;—and then that of distributing and disposing of it according to their viciated caprices, on which the happiness of the rest is left to depend.---While education is left to chance, or to weak, occupied, or ignorant parents.---While each can pursue his happiness only by injuring that of others, or sacred justice herself. Thence impelled,---torn by jarring and opposing

opposing motives, the strongest and worst must generally at length prevail. And thence the sole and fatal resource of ignorant legislators, viz. the insufficient and unjust mode of preventing crimes, by punishment, and the punishing crimes which they themselves have occasioned. Such has hitherto been the legislative circle, equally contemptible and astonishing, of the human rational beings, or rather reptiles, that inhabit this globe. It is to be feared that few or none of them may yet know how to establish a constitution on the simple principles of truth, reason, or justice:—nor how to give way in time, and prevent or prepare for those fatal floods of force and despair, which overwhelm all, and which nothing can withstand, and which may yet be more destructive than ever,—as the debauch of civilization, and a growing sense of injustice, &c. may lead to still greater extremes. With such ideas as these, the people have been waiting—expecting, for several ages, some remedy or relief: and there seems not yet wisdom enough in the world, to discover or to give it them: or to lead them out of their present dark labyrinth of misery, towards light and happiness. If this proposal is not yet complete, let us hope it may soon be made so. Something must be done soon, and nothing can do it but wisdom and justice.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

ON THE

FOREGOING TREATISE,

COLLECTED BY THE EDITORS.

[SOME of these are of great value and importance: if they are not still better, better written and arranged;—if time and assistance are here, and generally now, insufficient for the purpose in hand;—'tis not the fault of the editors, but owing to the present defective state of society. They have bestowed all their spare endeavours to render this little book worthy of general attention; and to give as many of the most important ideas of the times, and in as few words as they could. They wish and intend to go on, and try giving to the world, from time to time, whatever it may seem most to want; in the hope that such books, as they multiply and improve, may have some gradual influence, on both men and measures,—on institutions, legislation, education, &c. may tend to enlighten and emancipate the yet darkened and ensnaked mind of man;—may assist in directing him into the road of his natural progression;—till the human mind shall ascend to her proper place, in nature, and her almighty powers more evidently appear.]

(1) Your author's plan of dividing the labour and advantages of reform among different generations, or twenty years, is probably just, and might render it more practicable. Too many may yet, at first sight, doubt the possibility of a radical reform of society, even in the gradual manner proposed by this writer.—Some may fear—if an Agis, a Brutus, &c. could not restore their sinking countries, and their former wise institutions, that still less is to be hoped from modern virtue, so far inferior,—or from the cure of vice, not now so far inferior to that of those times.

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Though the progress of the human species may be different, in degree and duration, in different periods; and ever since the days of ancient Greece and Rome, may have been retrograde, till very lately, yet we may surely hope it will at length advance in reality as well as appearance, and on the whole does advance; and that our increasing knowledge or science may be capable of compensating the want of strength, by art or number, &c. and of leading man towards his true happiness. If his timid mind should still doubt these principles, or the truth of history, let him look to England, America, France, Switzerland, &c. where new roads have been opened to reform, which seem susceptible of some of the degrees of improvement hitherto wanted, and so long looked for: those of this author may follow in time; the human mind, once in the right path, can hardly fail of attaining its object.

(2) § 6. Code. All property belongs to the whole society; and the disposal of it cannot be given away from thence, to any individuals, classes, or sections: the act is null and void of itself by right; and also in fact, so soon as the remedy is found.---The remedy must be that which brings no evil, or the least possible; not that which brings merely more good than evil. The society cannot do evil, either that good may come of it, or from any other motive or view,---being established for the good of the whole and of each. Page 32.

(3) 'Tis plain they would soon perceive the great advantages of an open and free choice among the whole, in marriages, or sexual associations; and this, with other considerations, might induce and contribute gradually to abolish and keep down all invidious distinctions before they became oppressive.---But we must pardon our author some remains of Italian prejudices; such as this of family pride,---the building so much in piazzi, or squares; the constitutional indolence of climate,---a want of rural taste, &c.

(4) If the dining 8 together, at octagon tables (and never above 12) could be generally introduced, and especially for large companies, it might be one of the most beneficial improvements of this kind, for the good of society, in comfort, facility, communication, &c. p. 39.

(5) The form and style of building will then become a fine subject for the general taste and wisdom; architecture being the first of the fine arts. Much will always be indicated by, and depend upon, situation. Three sides of a square, open generally towards the south, is frequently a good form, for many situations. p. 38. 40.

(6)

(6) Many wise men have thought it essential that the sexes should work and live together as much as possible, in various employments, such as agriculture, &c. which all should learn: and therefore the inhabitants of town and country be changed---relieved, one-third or one-fourth, yearly:---and on the same principle, several of the easy and connected trades being learned by the same person, according to abilities, great advantages would accrue in the *united labour* of numbers, which would then become of great importance, and be so often wanted. (See Sir T. Moore.) p. 41.

(7) The state, quantity, and estimate of all kinds of produce, stock and savings, throughout the nation, being then easily and generally known, and under the direction of public wisdom, numerous and extensive advantages would ensue; a fair and constant mutual supply might then be kept up, internally and externally, between all neighbouring countries, and at length between all mankind:---this would bring the production of every thing where it should be. Commerce thence becomes the dignified dispenser of general benefits, instead of the art and mystery of roguery and chicanery, chiefly to supply some pernicious private profits to a few of the least deserving; by whom the public weal can seldom or never be thought of, and by whom it is generally sacrificed. Nay, commerce hitherto may certainly be considered as the parent of much more evil than good;---as a source of luxury, roguery, revenue, rapacity;---of the most sordid and pernicious human vices and characters; of national corruption, ignorance, and inevitable decline.---The sources of plenty;---of virtue, vice, manners, once in the hands of the public power and wisdom, whatever she pleases may be excluded or introduced. Tobacco, spirits, vices, adulterations, may be prohibited:---science, virtue, happiness, promoted and produced at home, and thence colonized round the world.---Riches have ever gradually spoiled nations and characters; but it was probably because of being individual riches. Preserve a community of all property, and consider it as the riches of the whole society, and it will thence flow freely round, and improve, the world: while the selfish systems must ever bring on all vices, and produce even the same effects as poverty;---as exertions beyond the public power and income;---government being robbed---cheated, at last, by all it can employ. Thence the necessity of increasing revenue, taxation, corruption: thence avarice, sordid rapacity, will gain all ranks,---even to the highest. So that the nation, which depends entirely on individual riches, must soon be lost, and may fall a prey or a prize to the first of her neighbours who shall depend upon virtue and discipline. p. 47.

(8) Their libraries would then soon excel all others, and contain more knowledge, and in perhaps one-hundreth part of the space and reading.---The spontaneous, or rather cultivated, exertion of human thought and genius, is to be promoted and encouraged by all possible means; but still the merits of its produce must be measured by its tendency,---by the general good. Spontaneous, undirected liberty has been shewn to be impossible or nonsensical, and the liberty to do mischief, still worse. But it may still be a fruitful question---to know what are the best remedies for the pruriency of publication: 1st, Whether best left to cure itself?---or, 2dly, To find some mode, like our author, of preventing those evils which will require a cure, when perhaps too late. The first has been latterly preferred, probably from a want or scarcity of wisdom and virtue, to whom the office of censors, &c. might be safely delegated. As society shall improve, and produce virtue enough for all its own purposes, this difficulty will cease, and the second mode may again be preferred. Writing may be encouraged, and yet corrected; the good of this great art may certainly in time be extracted, without being for ever forced to take all its evils. *p. 49.*

(9) Near these would also be the public libraries,---with public lectures, chemical, anatomical,---in natural philosophy, mathematics, mechanics, and all useful science; with academies for the fine arts.---Such institutions would gradually improve, and extend their benefits and influence. These and the hospitals would probably, in time, become like palaces which people travel to see; with fine gardens, sculpture, paintings, fountains, baths, stables, with some horses and carriages.---The stock or savings of the society would soon be so far advanced, that large increasing portions of the public labour and attention might be spared to public objects.---Whereas these portions of spare labour or powers are now found to be diminishing in all modern societies. *p. 50.*

(10) The right, the wisdom, and expediency, of sending superfluous subjects to other countries, especially to such as are not yet sufficiently occupied or cultivated, is justly supposed to exist, in the nature of that relation of men to each other, and with this globe, which they all equally inhabit;---and the doctrine is thereon supported by Sir T. Moore, and others. *p. 57.*

(11) *Religion*---is yet a delicate and difficult subject to treat politically, and we must pardon the local or Italian prejudices of this author. Probably men, as they advance in knowledge, will more nearly agree in this, as in other essentials. We already perceive, that by gentle and rational treatment, all persuasions may be brought to live together in peace and amity: and we think,
in

in a rational constitution of society, all may be induced, for example, to use the same temple by turns, and thence may gradually be weaned from certain aversions and oppositions in form, &c.—that all might be brought gradually to turn some of the religious parts of their service towards wisdom, virtue, political morality; and all to a liberal use of the best music; and to employ part of their discourses on constitutional and useful subjects.—By such means, and by the magistrates attending all sects indifferently, or by turns, having no favorite or state religion or establishment, (being a subject in which the state can have nothing to do) as in America, they might retain, with all of them, influence enough gradually to make them model themselves on rational principles, so as to produce and promote utility, elegance, and social happiness. And on festivals, after service, all might be brought to join in the elegant amusements, which would then be invented, to fill up the rest of the day. p. 52.

(12) Let us hope it may be done at a cheaper rate than by continuing that feudal pest—hereditary ranks, or hereditary any thing,—which is obviously against nature and the human progress in every way, physical and moral: in both ways do families, and especially the great, obviously degenerate. And 'tis hoped we may find some better object for the last uses that may be made of private property, than to purchase with it a perpetual bondage, or any inevitable order of things, so contrary to the natural progression of man, and which, under pretext of stability, must ever grow worse. In the visible corruption of the two extremes of our ill-constructed societies—of the lower and upper ranks, (which gain fast on the intermediate,) the latter or upper parts probably decline the fastest, so as to require frequent repairs, or replenishing, from below; from whence are soon necessarily supplied all the efficient places of trust or exertion; without this, the upper soon become totally *faineans*;—as in Japan, India, and too much also in Europe, and even where established aristocracy is supposed to be in its element,—*War*, its defects soon begin to appear. It might be made a question, Whether, in any or perhaps all the present armies of Europe, the non-commissioned would not be an overmatch for the commissioned officers, if opposed to each other, with equal armies, or in any way *even-banded*?—And if the present iniquitous system of unjust inequalities could subsist for half a century more, (which is hardly possible with the present means of increasing and extending knowledge) these moral differences between the ranks in society would still more evidently appear against the upper, who visibly corrupt the fastest. Artifice will not probably answer much longer to govern mankind; as the tricks of usurpation are now nearly all played off or discovered;—except perhaps here and in Spain, and a few other places, where there are yet enough in store to gull the people for some time longer,—if the aristocratic party can retain sense and judgement

judgement enough to chuse their players, and plan the game as hitherto. Here the spoils of usurpation are widely distributed, and, including numbers and influence together, probably form a majority of power, which may last so long as the laws are made by proprietors only, and the property is in the hands of individuals, and thence retains all its corrupting influence, in debasing the lower classes, &c.--till it debase the possessors still more; and then their weakness and injustice, with the strength and rights of the people, will begin to be very apparent;--which cannot be above half a century longer, in any part of Europe. *Property*, as now distributed, must decide in all contests:--nor can it lose its undue and corrupting influence, till in the community, where it should be. How this may be done gradually, and without injury, is shewn in this work. Other modes of gradation may occur. 1st, Dividing well inheritances. 2dly, Changing all tenures into *leases for lives*, may be necessary steps in the progress, and merit attention:--and all property thence falling gradually into the community or whole society, which may thus have time to acquire the necessary knowledge and wisdom to dispose of it by degrees into proper districts, to be cultivated by, as in right appertaining to, the whole nation, district, or parish. The improvements in the modes of election would be of the first importance in a new constitution. Rome, Venice, America, France, and Switzerland, might furnish lessons to improve upon. Permanent ranks would probably soon disappear, from many motives, and be found totally untenable, and incompatible with justice and equality. 1st, Because many would chuse to learn different connected professions, when not forced to be totally engrossed by one. 2dly, Thence the inhabitants of town and country,--of different employments and situations, would be frequently (perhaps periodically) changing places. (See Sir T. Moore.)--All having the same object, and nothing to contend about--*merit* or rotation would soon take place of *birth*, and produce great increase of public spirit, virtue, and happiness. Indeed, we see the author candidly offers this only as a sketch, to be corrected, or otherwise filled up, by philosophers, ministers, or men of sense. The principles being generally just, the mode of their application to practice may be gradually found and improved.--We should never forget that all individual, partial, or delegated power, to persons or governments, whether acquired by rank or riches, over persons or property, must be a *minimum* in policy, both in quantity and duration; i. e. the least possible that can answer the purpose for which it is given.--*Wisdom*, (*w*) (or the mode of producing or bringing it into action) must be a *maximum*, or the greatest possible. Let the above superfluous power = *P*.--Then the time or duration (*T*) of any society may be as *W*. directly, and as *P*. inversely--or as $\frac{W}{P}$, these two quantities mutually destroying each other, till one vanishes = 0.

And

And to analyze P. still farther, suppose the above superfluous power or authority over persons = P, and that over property = p. Then to consider if their sum ($P + p \times T$) or their product (PpT)---or P^2T , may not express the tendency to decline, in any society. Thus, with some other principles and circumstances taken in, along with such quantities, these and many other such problems may probably in time be solvable;-- or approximations or rational ideas be obtained, on moral and political subjects. p. 60. 63.

(13) Societies, arbitrations, areopagi, &c. for particular objects, will then be easily formed of the wisest, in order to propagate or preserve knowledge or institutions, wisdom and virtue;---for the improvement of schools or education;---of any or all the elegant or useful arts;---for those of communication, of public magnificence, &c.---Where preservation or perpetuity, with slow and gradual improvement, are wanted, societies or bodies of men may probably be successfully formed for the purpose, much better than hitherto; being a subject not yet considered or understood.

(14) The author's great anxiety to have this third and fourth part, or constitution, to be very literally translated, by which it may appear stiff, ungraceful, and not always intelligible; his fancying this to be the *best* part of his work, but which probably too many will think the *worst*, are little facts probably worth mentioning, as they indicate general truths, or prejudices to which human nature is subject. Though the publishing errors, to be confuted, may be considered as a loss of time, yet such have been among the essential steps and *stimuli* of the human progress; and we are perhaps as much indebted to the errors of a Machiavel and a B——, as to the more direct progress of a Bacon or a Locke.— Though this author should consider the essential equality among men to consist in that of their bellies, forgetting their heads and hearts, yet such ideas may produce others better, or may be a necessary step towards more essential equality. And though he may not be sufficiently aware that too much order becomes impediment, and only apparent good or real evil, according to his own principles; yet such deviations may help to direct others towards the truth, by shewing them it must lie somewhere between those limits or extremes already explored or attempted.—These, and some other of his practical attempts, rather inconsistent with his just and valuable principles, still leave the field open to the power of human thought, and may even tend to invite and excite its farther exertions, together with the incitement of increasing hopes of success, as men seem now to be approaching some important truth or æra, and may not be so far as many imagine from adopting gradually, even into practice, some of the great and incon-

trovertible principles of this little work, especially as they may soon be still more evidently displayed and demonstrated to the world, and gradually pervade the general mind; for truth must surely at length prevail. p. 53.

(15) This and some other of his rigid regulations might certainly be spared, and indeed ought to be avoided, as impediments to rights or duties. Doubtless, the habits of conforming to wise and obviously beneficial regulations, may soon be acquired, and most of our desires for more liberty, are often mere vice or licentiousness. The point of truth or rectitude seems here likewise,--- "to establish only such laws, regulations, and authorities, as are absolutely necessary:" these must all be in their *minima*. The moment they go beyond what is necessary, there is danger. Hence they will be gradually reduced and simplified, not multiplied, as men advance in real improvement, and of which this simplification will therefore serve as the criterion to judge of our real progress.

Some intermediate steps may be necessary between our present vicious state of individuality, and that of the virtuous happy condition of living in real community. While property, its hereditary descent, and all its other vices, are admitted, the majority of mankind must probably still remain the same vitiated, ignorant, and contemptible beings which we see, and must be governed, as such, by force,---by governments of mutual check and control, &c. Until we can venture to suppose them a little better than they perhaps really are, they never will be better. Let us hope this third National Assembly of France will discover and venture upon some of these steps of the human progress;--- as in changing all the different tenures of fixed property into one species, as before-mentioned, best into that of *leases for lives*, held of the state or community, into whose hands the whole would thence gradually fall, and where it belongs. They should discover and define to man his real rights and expectations from society, viz. the supply of his wants, and increase of his powers, bodily and mental, physical and moral; *justice* and *equality* now constitute their object, and not the deceitful sources of real evils, *liberty* and *property*; nor the incompatible and impossible *security* of such injurious nonsense, a standing disgrace to the code of philosophers; nor any right to resist *oppression*,---which should not exist; a right which could only perpetuate, but not remedy, the evil. They should establish a wise and liberal education for all, and a right to vote as men, not as proprietors.

A complete *representation* of a people and their property is probably impossible; and the expedient of representation should only be attempted when, and as far as, absolutely necessary, and no farther; the necessity or occasion for it will gradually diminish, under the system of wisdom. We should investigate what things one man can do, or may be reasonably expected to do, for others; and these things that can be so done, should be classed or graduated

duated into feasible or probable *et conv.*—and the chances for each; as also what may be expected from bodies corporate, (seldom any good, as usually formed) and what from the individual mind (every good) and what from the different combinations of passions and interests; and thence how all these should be employed,---repressed or promoted.

We only began very lately to study these subjects, or human nature; and our progress cannot be great,---and we are yet but few who dare venture on them, having been so long accustomed to consider them as already decided, and the inquiry shut up; whence men became *stationary* (and thence retrograde) which has probably been more injurious to their powers and progress, than if they had gone ever so far wrong,---provided there should be no impediment to their return, on discovering their error.---However, with all our ignorance, each speculator has his *nostrum* or infallible remedy for all political evils, though the subject on which the least is yet known. One has his agrarian system;---another has one of free circulation; another of complete representation; another depends on the mode of election, or of assembling;---another on mutual checks and controls, &c. Most of them depending on *forms*, without changing or even considering the substance or essence of the materials.---All these remedies may have their influence, when employed in their place: but while so great a majority of mankind remain selfish, inimical identities, and thence vicious and ignorant, their sending one another,---or any who they can find and abuse, and are forced to trust, to legislate for the whole, will do little good;---and such will always consider *themselves first*, when they can. Control is no remedy, or it is only negative;---only preventing evil, and not promoting good;---'tis only impediment, and not motive, to action. Men should, in some degree, be *trust-worthy*, before they are *trusted*;---though a certain degree of confidence may excite some emulation to deserve it, the execution of a duty must be rendered practicable;---the *temptation* to betray the trust must be diminished, and the power to resist it increased;---the force is to be augmented, and the difficulties to be overcome, are to be lessened.---In short, the *community of property* would effect both or all these ends, and seems the most---the only *sovereign remedy*;---as it facilitates and leads to all the rest. p. 38.

*Some farther Observations on Liberty, Property, Man,
Legislation, &c.*

THUS, on seeing man's various and progressive opinions on himself,---of his government,---on the most simple subjects ;---it may be supposed that his state of infancy may in time sufficiently appear to himself;---and all may be necessary steps in his progress. When he gets or takes leave again to study himself, he may then perceive where to begin, and the immense injury done by shutting up the inquiry. We are yet disputing, not only of the best *form* of government, but whether forms are of any or of the utmost importance; how *inequalities* among men in society are to be avoided or managed; whether at all necessary, or to be totally unlimited? We seem yet ignorant of the effects of any form; and to dispute whether the fermentation of democracy brings up the *scum*, *dregs*, or *merits* of society to the top? Whether man should or can be improved, or ever remain as he is?---Whether he is, can, or ought to be made, a selfish, or a benevolent animal? and of the little that he knows, he seems yet incapable of making any advantageous uses.---In all those disputes, the most absurd of the opposing sets of opinions have generally hitherto prevailed.

Man, once convinced, like Socrates, of his real state of ignorance or infancy, some more effectual efforts to advance may be expected.---The ignorance and slavery of a great majority of them, hitherto submitting to almost as ignorant a minority, who have nearly deprived them even of time, and of every possible means of recovering their powers and stations,---presents such a humiliating picture of mankind, as to afford to the timid philosopher but small hopes of that recovery: but happily others begin to appear bold enough both to hope and attempt it. Among these, this author, or rather his principles, may be considered as bidding the fairest to have some beneficial effect or influence in time;---tho' perhaps not always right, nor, when right, calculated to obtain the suffrages of the present prejudiced world; yet his very errors may help to invite the discussion; and he opens the subject, we think, more effectually, and may produce a greater *crop of thought*, than most of the moderns we have yet seen:---and on the *human thought* all must depend.

Were it not for this cruel and oppressive privation of spare time, Man might thus perhaps work out his own salvation or recovery.---Some might be found to take different parts of the task, and,

by the mutual assistance of a little divided and united labour, the right progress might be at least begun; his mind might then be prepared for action, and prevent its precipitating millions to destruction, by rushing into violence (always ruinous) before he knows either the means or the object to be attained. As this object rises to his view, and he advances in moral perfection, the straight and pacific road of wisdom will gradually appear with it; and whatever modes of reform may be adopted, violence will then become obviously unjust and unnecessary: his cares about his animal wants and functions will be lessened by degrees; the labour necessary to their supply, when properly divided and directed, would be small even now, and will then be far less, and gradually diminishing.

Were it not for this increasing value and scarcity of time, some of the very interesting parts of this work, concerning *liberty* and *property*, &c. might yet perhaps be somewhat more arranged, and placed in different lights, and still more evidently proved; the different kinds and false ideas of liberty might perhaps be more explained; and divided or exclusive property still more clearly shewn to be the real source of most of the miseries of man.

Two kinds of liberty at least (though neither may deserve the name) seem here necessary to be distinguished; or they might be classed under the terms of *metaphysical* and *political* liberty, or the *theoretic* and *practical*. The first seems not to be sufficiently devolved out of the confusion and mixture of metaphysical and grammatical ideas which naturally run into each other, (if we may judge from Dr. Gregory's new book, and the many late metaphysical tracts.)

Till moral cause and effect can be measured, like the mechanical, they must, with most, be considered as different, and should be distinguished in name, even though acknowledged to be similar in the necessity of connection.---In search of truth, 'tis generally wise to trace the differences fully as much as the resemblance of objects; however much, in the other arts, a contrary direction may be necessary.---Till we can make man, or measure his mental powers, as we do the mechanical, by weight, &c. we cannot calculate near so exactly, what they are susceptible or capable of; nor consider and manage moral and mechanical necessity in the same way;---nor their laws and proportions, in different situations and circumstances:---Whether $2 W$ always $= 2 P$. or $= \sqrt{2} p$. or $= 2 p$? &c.---Nor is the effect, to us, linked or joined to the cause, in the same visible manner, in each, as yet. We cannot yet interpolate the different steps of causation between the visible cause and effect, nor even guess at their nature and number.---So we must observe what we can, and work by the doctrine of chances;---or by limits, when we can see or trace them,---as in *maxima* and *minima*: and as we advance, from this our present state of infancy in this knowledge, we shall have less

apparent liberty (having in reality none) but shall be surer of being right or just. This subject not being yet made plain to common apprehension, may be partly owing to the misnaming or ill-naming our ideas ;---to the slow progress and still great deficiencies of language, which is not yet near sufficient for the classing, naming, or arranging, our mental operations.---Had the ideas, for example, meant to be expressed by the word *liberty*, been left to circumlocution ; and those indicating a removal of impediments, received a name expressive of such operations, our reasonings might have been influenced by it. On such accidental arrangements does our progress often depend.---The improvements of language cannot well precede our progress, and seems hitherto rather slow in following it. When man can become so candid and sagacious as to take up science and wisdom in general, where the *Greeks* left it, perhaps some such real progress as theirs may be expected. And then we should have no reason to despair of discovering, in time, how man is made ; the texture and constitution that produce his powers :---what combinations constitute life, sensation, retention, *mind* ; see the moving powers, through the energy of brain, &c. and all the steps of causation necessary for him to know.---Or rather, perhaps, beginning like the *Greeks* with *mind*, and thence synthetically tracing all the other *phenomena* ;---or, in both directions, till the physiologist and metaphysician shall meet and mutually confer their labours and discoveries, and men of the same and of different professions all unite---till different individuals become like one being.---All this may be hoped for, if we may judge only from the progress already made, and particularly by physiologists and philosophers, during the few short periods when their efforts have been near rightly directed ; and when their labour and attention shall gradually improve in unity, quantity, and direction, they may surely hope for proportional success.

Though no necessary connection, even between causes and effects physical and moral, may yet be palpable or demonstrative ; and though all or general causation may yet be unknown : still we can even now perceive differences and limits,-- can class and distinguish objects, operations, and their relations.---We can perceive lesser and greater in many operations, as well as objects, though ignorant of the essence of each. Now from limits and distinctions,---beginnings and endings, like sum and differences, in mathematics, perhaps some knowledge may yet be obtained :---and we may trace the difference, in mathematics, perhaps some knowledge may yet be obtained :---and we may trace the limits, ingredients, or constituents that produce madness or sense, and the want of either, where and in what each begins and ends,---may distinguish double from single, habitual from voluntary sensation ; where they begin and end :---may trace what constitutes or begins attention, retention, consciousness, motion, &c.

He might perhaps, with greater effect, have dwelt more on the other species,---*political liberty*, which he has well defined or designated to be a removal of all restraints or impediments to our rights and duties,---to justice. This would be an arranging of all nature,---of every thing, into its place or office;---in short, universal perfection, towards which perhaps all is tending, and in which, to be sure, our liberty or choice cannot be an ingredient.---However, this species or love of freedom from undue restraint or impediment; or rather a love of arrangement or justice---may be considered as a principal component part of the human character, and which will lead man yet towards perfection.---It can never be obliterated from his mind, though generally hitherto oppressed or covered over, by some of the arts of tyranny.---Happily, however, it sometimes appears, and rises by its native spring, even from and by oppression, and has produced most of the small quantity of good that has yet been seen in the world;---while accursed property has produced most of the evil, (when superstition shall have deducted her ample share.)---In other words, though neither of those species or things, called liberty, belong properly to the term, or to that bundle of ideas which we have blindly or prematurely agreed to call so, and supposed to exist; yet by this last, such as it really is, though falsely named, man has performed his greatest feats, and raised his nature the highest and nearest to his natural state of perfection.

Viewing the pernicious effects of *liberty*, this author is thrown into the other extreme, of wishing to consider and manage a nation as a convent or an army (from both of which some good hints may be taken) loading man with regulations, perhaps needless, and therefore burdensome and impeding;---making him sacrifice more of his natural liberty, and thence of his powers, than can, in return, be made up to him in happiness, or in the progression towards it.---Some social restraints are doubtless necessary to begin reform,---but can only be adopted in the view of removing them again gradually, when they cease to be wanted;---when man becomes fit to walk alone.

Though *liberty* may be generally misunderstood, and as such belongs not to man; his passion for it, proceeding oftener perhaps from a love of vice or licentiousness, than of virtue.---Though all his mental powers, or their freest agency, must be the necessary effects of certain causes or motives, and a part of the great chain of causation, (of which we see only a part, and that perhaps but very imperfectly:)---but were this chain and necessity still more evident, and the vices of liberty still more pernicious, it does not follow that the natural agency of his mind must always be controlled, or taken from himself, where it belongs, nor be assumed by the society or government.---It may be directed, promoted, while in infancy, &c. but cannot be supplanted, by any thing of equal efficacy, or that can supply any of its purposes. Hence whatever influence may be thought wise or necessary

fary to apply to its direction, control or improvement, ought to be such as not to diminish but to increase its powers;---such as shall animate and not impede its operations,---as shall open and not obstruct the path of its progression:---and gradually, as man learns to keep that path, and accelerate his march, all the rails and impediments of control should be removed. Such must be the end of association and the duty of society; and not that of eternally increasing those impediments and the weight of his chains, by accumulating laws and regulations.---That man can walk only in one path, may be a reason for keeping *that* path clear before him, but not for shutting it up.---But in such suppositions as these, seem to consist the chief error of our author, and of the *jesuits*, from whom this system seems to be chiefly taken.---Yet it may be worth while to consider the ideas and institutions of this author, and of those men, the *jesuits*, before they are entirely sunk in oblivion. Every experiment and connected speculation ought to produce some lessons to man, and may form a part of his progress. Even monastic regulations may help to exhibit parts of his nature or powers, as principles or points to direct the law-giver. It may be useful to trace how that mixed combination of wisdom and iniquity was defeated by still more powerful and iniquitous opponents (the kings) in order that philosophy may be enabled to see and measure the strength of her present and future enemies. She may thence perhaps at length succeed in shewing to man what a tool he has hitherto been made, in forging his own fetters, and in being brought not only to look quietly on, and see his tyrants quarrel about his blood, but himself made to take a part, and spill it for them.

It may be suspected, or worth considering, with our author, whether *human happiness* may depend so entirely upon *liberty* of any kind, as is generally imagined by its pretended friends and promoters; or if it may not proceed more from *justice* mixed with humanity, (which includes all of virtue) and be made to depend on the wisdom of her regulations. With the real happiness of her children in view, they may often find some restraints to be necessary,---till they can walk alone; and may still leave and even promote the agency and exercise of their most important mental powers, by exciting the best of them, and repressing the worst, and still using no more force than barely necessary;---or chiefly by the agency of the individual *mind* itself, which must doubtless ever have the ultimate decision, or last appeal, when of age; and *self* be the *motor* in which every action or decision must originate or terminate.---The lowest and most abandoned of the human species have been collected into regiments, or monasteries, with their former useless or pernicious liberty regulated away into duties, and their moral character thereby intrinsically improved, or brought many steps nearer to its natural degree or progress in the road to perfection: and if justice could there stand always ready to lead and emancipate merit to its own mental direction,

rection, gradually, as found capable; this might be one of the roads to human virtue and happiness.

Perhaps these monastic institutions, so hastily abolished in France, &c. might thus, by a few material alterations, have been converted into some of the best and happiest forms of society: only by liberating them from the rites and nonsense of superstition, and joining the sexes.

A regiment, or a garrison, under all the rites of rigid discipline, has been often so constituted as to require only the hand of wisdom, and a little humane integrity in a commander, to produce immediately a greater stock of good order and felicity, than can probably be effected by all the liberty and independence with which men can be conceived to live in society.---Man is a social as well as a rational being; and when enlightened and perfected to the utmost, his most voluntary institutions and associations will not be so remarkable for their liberty or insulated individuality, independence, or egotism; as for justice and social happiness;---for united, more than for divided, minds and efforts.

Perhaps man's first and false hopes and ideas of individual property might proceed partly from his false ideas of liberty, as our author endeavours to shew.---We may say *partly*;---for this and all our errors and false principles are, like every thing in nature, complicated in their causes:---they may be traced mostly to our passions and ignorance (some say to our ignorance alone) as the sources of all our evils; and in proportion as we succeed in curing the one, and governing the other,---so all our false reasoning,---false wants, and all the *selfish* animal system of exclusive property, will gradually disappear. *Self-love* must be one of the *minima* in morals, i. e. the least possible, that can answer the purpose: (no fear of its being too little :) and beneficence must be a *maximum*, or the greatest that can be produced.

These things are certainly worthy the consideration of the philosopher; as of great importance in the study, 1st, of the *evils* which afflict mankind; 2dly, of their causes; and 3dly, their remedies. The first are abundantly evident, though even there men dispute. The second are yet far from being sufficiently discovered or generally known; and the third farther still; too many not at all, and hitherto irremediable.

It seems truly astonishing that man should be so long in discovering the true cause of his misery: this seems evidently to have been the introduction of *injustice*; and particularly that of the division of *property*. But most of those who have none are now *unfit*, and those who have are *unwilling*, to make the discovery.---If we go on to perceive, and proceed upon, the principles of natural justice;---and particularly that of *persons*, not *property*, being the natural legislators for themselves and society; the numerous and growing majority of non-proprietors must soon come to perceive the injustice of this or of any division, and must assume the power on the first occasion, which will soon occur.---
and

and yet the remedy may then be far distant, as 'tis usual with man to live long and familiarly with evils and their causes, before he thinks of discovering or applying the remedies; and then often mistaking them in his repeated attempts.---While men are such animals, and have just sense enough to see their miseries, and at last their source, *injustice*, they may yet for a while be blind enough to fly to *violence* instead of *reason* for relief: and it may require the assistance of a rising generation to see and lead a little farther towards truth, peace, and happiness, before they can be brought into the path of reason and remedy. They will surely advance far on this road, after the man or angel who shall palpably discover and convince them of this true source of most of their miseries.---Society seems approaching fast towards this point,---which might have been easily foreseen. It is yet doubtful if any order or organization can long enough preserve tranquillity among such animals as are now the lower classes, till justice can be done them;---but especially if they do not see us setting about it. If tranquillity could be preserved, by military organization, &c. perhaps their eyes might be gradually opened, and habits of duties be acquired:---but *violence*, once begun, spreads so far, and long, and wide;---its increasing evils seem interminable.

Three remarkable truths seem to be rising in the horizon of our intellectual view, and may soon afford light enough to estimate or measure the progress of men,—of nations,—of the species: and their extending to a majority of us, will be the most interesting epocha of our history. These are, 1st, a right view or conviction of this fertile mischief of *divided property*; 2dly, the impossibility of advancing into the road of our perfectibility till cleared of war and violence; 3dly, the necessity of leaving off the use of superstition, as soon as practicable;—so soon as we can go alone, though still a little in the dark; we shall never otherwise get to the light,—unless we move on.

Some have found in our author's system, (chiefly taken from that of the jesuits in Paraguay) a great deal of merit; but that in the practical application of his theory, he runs into error, needlessly deviating from his own principles; and chiefly in three points, viz. 1. as to personal liberty; 2. the liberty of the press; and, 3. public education. That his reasonings on the term *liberty*, in the first part, have great merit, but have led him to some wrong conclusions, as not unusual. Though true, that liberty, as generally understood, is an unjust claim;—that no situation can occur to us, respecting which our duty is silent, or does not prescribe one mode of action in preference to all others; and the right of doing wrong is the greatest of all absurdities. But it does not follow, because we have not a complete right to liberty, that a right of prescribing our conduct to us devolves to the society, as this author supposes. Society has no better, but in reality a worse, chance to discover the rule of duty, than the individuals. Truth and justice are the only authentic legislators; and it is the in-

inevitable law of our nature, that each man's private judgement should ultimately be the interpreter of their decrees. The exercise of private judgement is the pledge of the perpetual progress of the species towards perfection, while the authority of a society, so far as it is exerted, has a tendency to render us perpetually stationary. (Not if we allow a progress to the species as well as to the individual. The public wisdom may surely improve with the private.)

Our author's idea of preventing needlessly the citizens from going out of the bounds of his imaginary state, without the consent of the society, would make us all prisoners under a specious name. His plan for proscribing the liberty of the press has a direct tendency to the annihilation of human understanding. His project for an universal public education, if it had been adopted a little sooner, would have been the most promising of all schemes for immortalizing the slavery of mankind. His ideas lead to introduce the influence of government upon all occasions; the true system will more probably lead to shut it up in as narrow limits as possible. But notwithstanding this radical mistake, his production contains much truth, is full of instruction, and may materially contribute to open the subject, and enlighten the general mind.

As this exercise of private judgement, or self-agency, must be prepared and rendered fit for its duty, and towards that end or object must be led by some *influence*, to enable or direct it into that of truth and justice. Hence the nature and quantity of this influence is still the grand object of importance, and should probably be suited to the age, character, profession, &c. of the subject,—perhaps of each individual, or at least of each class of them; and the whole to the public good. Though both the individual and society are bound by duties to one road, or mode of action, and can have no liberty; nor can society therefore justly assume the entire direction of individual minds; yet still it will not follow that such direction falls equally to the unprepared self-direction of each. The degree of liberty or emancipation cannot be the same to children, to the foolish or the vicious, as to the adult, the wise or virtuous; and must also vary with the business in hand, or object in view. So that we must still look up, or refer to some legislative wisdom or ultimate decision; doubtless to the *will* and *wisdom* of the whole society,—of which the cultivation, production, and employ are still of the last importance, and must improve with the species.

As men become fit for gradual emancipation,—to a complete self-direction,—or capable of liberty, their natural or primitive equality also thereby takes place; and that first great duty of society, of “continually diminishing all the accidental differences among men,” is thus at once fulfilled by one great simple stroke, like all the other grand and important operations of nature.—And all this must be done with the least possible force or restraint:

for in this *minima* will consist the perfection of legislation or society;---in making no waste of powers, either in quantity or duration. *Reason* may be made to supply the place of force; but will not probably chuse to extirpate the *passions*; but rather to preserve and regulate them, as sails or moving powers. Man is a *social* as well as a *rational* being; and must ever feel, laugh, cry, hate, admire, &c. as well as solve problems. His faculties seem to divide well enough into the animal, sympathetic, and rational. The latter may gradually gain on the former; but the progress must have some limit, though not easy to discover. Perhaps passion is only reason in a hurry, and may be always solved or cooled into it again; and the animal faculties may likewise all be subjected to the direction of the *mind*, when it can sufficiently attend to them. But this part of the progress is yet out of sight. Men, minds, obviously now require association, by which they advance and assimilate; but as far as they assimilate, may often impede each other. Though each individual mind must move by its own exertions, and in its own way, yet each requires assistance in many of its operations. What kinds and degrees of association tend to animate, assist, or impede each other, will then be distinguished;---as likewise what is best done by united, and what by individual labour. It is yet too soon to decide some of these questions; more experience seems yet wanting.

The *consideration of property*, the errors and mischiefs of the principle, to whatever it may be owing, is of the highest importance:---Nay, there is perhaps no truth in nature that deserves more of our attention, and requires more to be insisted on, and preached aloud to mankind, in all possible forms, than this erroneous and injurious system of exclusive individual property; and none that can be more clearly shewn to be false in principle, and mischievous in effect; and should therefore be attacked at both ends, and be driven from every refuge it can find in the mind of man, and which is always among its vices and errors. Tho' the execution may be distant, and hopeless for a long time to come, it is nevertheless of real consequence to prepare the minds of men, by the principles of truth, for the future practice of it. This great work it is surely high time to begin, as the human race seems approaching to manhood; and by this means (and never without) may be much sooner of age.---This our author has done, and brought the doctrine nearer to the demonstration of which it is capable, than any other modern that has hitherto appeared.---That property has the most injurious effects on the human character is too evident.

Our wants of first necessity should certainly be sufficiently and securely supplied to us by the society (if it deserves the name) as this author demonstrates.---Throwing this task on each individual, for self, will ever render them unfit for almost every other duty, most of which may be of more importance than this of providing for self, generally to the injury of society.---In the per-

perpetual occupation, temptation, anxiety, uncertainty, attending the *acquisition*, or *possession*, or *privation* of this provision for his mere animal wants, always returning or increasing, it is nearly impossible for man to rise much above the savage or animal state of his progress; and all our fancied or affected civilization will prove, at bottom, to be only some covered species of barbarism, so long as it is built on the inveterate habits of mere selfish pursuits.---While his physical or animal wants, being first in time, though not in importance, must occupy most of his attention, he can have little or none to spare for his mind, or for the public; nor can he ever rise to be a necessary part or member of a proper community. Separate and insulated beings, men are thus scattered over the face of the earth, detached identities, or secret or avowed enemies to each other, or as yet the mere animalcule of this globe,---crawling upon it as chance may lead.---But when all their motions come to be directed by the general wisdom, or the united force of the whole human mind, then may the beauty, the powers, &c. of the system arise to view, and human wisdom appear to be taken on the same scale of the globe or universe which it inhabits.

Among the most fortunate and successful in the present general scramble, we accordingly find the sordid, selfish, sensual, or rapacious character always prevailing in-proportion to the acquisition and security of this private property, which is therefore plainly only the acquisition and security of an evil. The extent of the mischief is likewise truly astonishing; as we find the acquisition, preservation, or privation of it, all equally tending to impede, corrupt, or debase the human character and progress, and its baneful influence thus extending to the whole human race.

The many glaring absurdities and evils of such a system should, but cannot, all be enumerated. They will appear in every way that we view or pursue the subject with attention: as in the very first supposition,---that a society can be formed or begun by its dissolution; by tearing to pieces the public stock, which brought and must keep men together; and giving away to individuals, what belongs to the whole: separating and setting mankind at variance in the very first act of an *assumed* power, and which could only be *given* to keep them united: 'tis like cutting to pieces the cord which sustains and binds men into a necessary union, and giving to each a bit of it in his pocket, then rendered useless for the original purpose;---or like taking to pieces the hospital, ship, or barrack, and giving to each of its inhabitants a brick or plank for his home. If man is a social being, we shall find that property cannot be an individual attribute; and *that*, in which each labours only for self, cannot be his social or his natural state. The irremediable consequences of error in first principle are infinite. --Here, first to proclaim a general pillage, for each to snatch and rend from the common capital, and from each other, what-

ever he can catch either by art or artifice; and then pretend to remedy or subdue the ocean of consequences by the trifling plaisters of laws, regulations, contributions, charities, agraria,---are operations in themselves impossible;---and 'tis cutting out increase of work for legislation, after having rendered it unfit for the task of any; or wantonly inflicting wounds and disease, as if on purpose to try uncertain and futile remedies; or it is like attempting, with the Quixot balsam of Cervantes, to cure a man after his head is cut off, by sticking it on again. That great author has thus exposed in his usual way, at one stroke, the great half or essence of human follies, in his little phial; though he has not yet succeeded in curing many of them. But the progress is probably begun, and perceptible in a growing disposition to ascend and examine first principles, which is the only road to rational improvement. The imbecility and childish attempts of corrupted legislators to gather up or stem the scattered parts of such a spreading torrent, instead of going to stop the source with the hand of wisdom, might be exposed and spread out into volumes, if it was not more urgent to come straight to the remedy, without a figure. It is impossible to regulate injustice, as our author well observes; it must be removed bodily. Nor is law probably the true mode of doing it, or of getting out of this vicious labyrinth of private property. Nay, law and property seem now to be two worn-out and old viciated systems of corruption and debility, which have agreed to support each other beyond their natural life, and impede all the hopes and progression of their posterity. But they must probably now soon die a natural death, and other more vigorous and liberal systems occupy their place.

All the modes of *public contribution* must ever be vicious and ineffectual. The attempting to take or tear from individuals any part of what has been given to them as the only means of their subsistence, can never produce any thing but vice, mischief, or misery. Nothing short of all property remaining in the hands of the public or general society, where it belongs, can ever answer all, or completely any of, the purposes of which it is capable, and may be expected.

To determine when any thing ceases to belong to the whole, as a society; or when it must become individual appropriation, or a necessary part of its separate members, may be difficult or unnecessary to ascertain exactly. Though our author has given one possible mode of distributing the particulars of a general constitution, there may be many other ways; and the whole might perhaps be collected into and directed by some few general maxims or principles,---as concerning property:---“All that is possible to be in common, or appertaining to the whole as a society, it must and does remain to,---till clearly necessary to be appropriated or applied to individual use;---as food, dress, materials, and every thing.”---Some such plain and general rule,
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if founded in nature, and thence perceived by all, need hardly even be written, and would serve society more, and supply the pretended uses of all the laws about property, better than all the immense volumes of it now existing. In the proper form of union, natural and moral law, or rather justice, would be sufficiently obvious to all, without writing or embroiling it into the pretended intricacy of fallacious science. It would be written in the mind, by first and second nature, not merely in books; and would appear in the then natural development of the human character, seconded by the habits of education.

So that on the effects and rights of property, it may be concluded with our author, collected into abbreviated terms, 1st, That there can exist no right, in society or any where, to grant away to any individuals, classes, or sections, what belongs to the whole, till clearly necessary, by some primary regulation founded in *justice*, or in the then common sense and interest of all.---Injustice not being admissible in any way, and still less from social institution, whose original object is justice, or the equal good of all.---The effects of individual property must, and are found to be unfit for, and pernicious to, the human powers, character, and happiness;---to all,---to the possessors and non-possessors; and in all times and ways, whether in the acquisition, possession, or privation of it. So that the system is doubly---trebly condemned, and in every way inadmissible.---Inadmissible as truth, justice, or the ultimate good, towards which man must aspire; and it is only *permitted* now, as perhaps a lesser evil than some other of the late steps of his progress through infancy or barbarism;---or than any sudden or violent remedy or change;---but it must (probably soon) be supplanted by some other step or remedy, whenever that remedy can be found or rendered applicable, i. e. answer the conditions of our code, (art. 6.) This next step seems clearly to be that of *community of property*, or some approach to it as a proper remedy to the vices and evils of the present;---perhaps by some gradual means; as, probably, man may soon find ways to shorten, accelerate, or over-leap many of the supposed necessary steps of his gradation. Those proposed by our author seem to be among the most timid and gradual;---but perhaps these may suggest others; and theory and practice may, by chance, unite in some one head, and shew us the way to shorten our journey. 1st, A good or improving division of inheritances; 2dly, then into leases for lives; 3dly, and then all in common; seem the three steps in the progress to truth and happiness, in this essential branch of the science of human society.

What an immensity of labours, of steps, of laws, and nonsense, might thus be saved to man; and his thence increasing powers be so much better employed,---as on education, &c. If our knowledge, and the modes of acquiring it, were not to simplify, as we advance, and the road to it be shortened, and our pace to quicken, it would at length accumulate, so as to induce a decline

cline, from the difficulty of acquisition, &c. and this accumulation or want of simplification may be one of the causes of these tides, cycles, or revolutions, alternately towards civilization and barbarism, hitherto observable in human affairs. But each tide or cycle in its *acme* (*alcance*) may gain something more beyond the last; and thence some easier ascent or securer seat of stability or progress. The right (of our lawyers) to the possession or disposal of property, founded on first *occupancy*, &c. will be found, on examination, to be mere boyish quibbling, or real usurpation, and not worth answering.--Lawyers generally side with *power*, which they consider as *right*.

That the principle of the original and political equality of men, now so much insisted on, is inapplicable and impossible, without a community of property :---that small manageable societies, and federations of these, constitute the best form of associating human beings, and are capable of any extent, even round the globe :---these are, or will in time be, self-evident truths; and require no other defence or proof, but being presented to the mind for its assent.

If objected---that men must first be philosophers before they can embrace or enter into such a system of society. Answer, Every attempt towards it will tend to make them so; and men must be treated a little better than they deserve, and be believed, and made to believe themselves, equal to a task, in order to make them attempt it,---and go beyond it.

If any should be foolish enough to fly our kingdom, with any of the treasure, or, &c. they would be glad soon to come back; on finding the loss of so much pleasure, physical and mental,---from arts, science, plenty, virtue, leisure; which they would find all to be so far inferior, every where else; and impossible,---till they adopt the same principles. In short, no desire of private accumulation would be probable or practicable; being so unnecessary and so easily discovered.

To this true statement of our present selfish system,---to its abolition, and to the natural community of all property, by some gradual or progressive mode of introduction, we can discover no material objections, even from the most sensible people, that deserve much answer or attention. Indeed, there are too few here, as yet, inclined to examine into first principles; but many soon will and must both examine and adopt the principles of truth as they rise to view: and this, in particular, will gradually claim and obtain a general attention, and at last force its way into practice; being evidently in the steps of the human progress.

It is curious and observable, that almost all the really liberal, learned, and wise, already approve of it, or are soon gradually convinced of its truth and excellence, by thinking: some of them are pleased to find others to keep them in countenance for what they had only dared to think. The number of these already in the world shew the possibility of all mankind becoming so; but before then, the principle will be adopted, somewhere, and thence

spread

spread over the world ; and in the mean time will serve as a moral and intellectual measure of merit. Only the sordid, ignorant, and selfish disapprove or disbelieve the possibility of it ; and these must gradually diminish, by education and the course of nature.

Others, at first view of this event or progression, conscious of our present dispositions, are naturally timidly inclined to doubt, and even dread many of the effects ; and particularly the efficacy or sufficiency of the then human motives or inducements to labour ; whereas, on reflection, they will soon perceive these to be then more sufficient than now, by having new and more powerful motives added to the best and strongest of the present :—and that labour may then increase or improve, both in quantity and direction. They know little of the human mind who can doubt of its sufficient sources of activity in any situation ; and especially in one that is natural and congenial to itself—affording—promoting the exercise of its best and most powerful faculties.—All the motives to exertion, which are now only from private, will then be from both private and public spirit, which last is confessedly far more powerful, when once excited and exerted, and especially when attended with evident success ; and the effects of both must be more than double of either alone. The love of distinction or fame, being then more certain and useful, will be far more powerful than at present. In the lower or working classes they now labour only from hard, forced, and most unpleasant and debasing—weakening necessity ;—from want, fear of poverty, or starvation ;—for mere animal existence ; and the effects still uncertain :—they will then labour from the most voluntary, agreeable, and invigorating motives ;—for their own and the general good, in one great object, in the most pleasant fellowship, under the then watchful, animating eye of each other ; with all the effects, obvious, beneficial, and certain, without even competition, jealousy, or hatred, as now from opposing interests : not impeding, but assisting each other : and all the labour so easy and sufficient ;—but our author has already made this clear : there is no cause to fear indolence or inactivity of the human mind in this happy situation. Even now the greatest exertions of mind are not from the mere animal wants ; but from the higher sentiments, as love of truth, honour, distinction, fame : and the great improvements in arts and labour,—in agriculture, manufactures, &c. will be found where the situation of men is the nearest to that which is here proposed ;—where the collective powers of knowledge, wisdom, leisure, and capital operate ;—where men of some education and fortune live and associate for these purposes : and not from the poor and ignorant, who farm and labour, and who are unequal to the risk or invention of new attempts or methods ; nor from the indolence and corruption of the rich and great. When the whole of society are thus or still more advantageously situated ;—where the public capital or stock of labour and attention

tion may be directed to any and to the most useful objects, the effects will be proportional; probably ten times the present.

Labour may be considered as consisting either, 1st, of *divided*, or, 2d, of *united* efforts. The first, though now perhaps the least defective of the two, will however be much improved by this system: but the second, far more defective and important, will be increased,—improved to an immense degree, both in quantity and direction. In the first, each works now for self, or for a different object; hence the defect of union and direction of power, and much of it lost: but when each acts for the whole or same objects, the powers, union, arrangement, may be prodigiously increased, by means of the great public capital of wisdom and attention, which may be rendered so many times superior to those of any individuals or companies where selfish views impede each other, themselves, and the whole. The second, or *united labour*, being now the most deficient in society, no one great object or enterprize can ever get enough of it, when most wanted, without the greatest difficulties, and, perhaps, the most ruinous expence:—many great and necessary objects are therefore never attempted or thought of,—as in agriculture, navigation, communication in general; for public splendour and magnificence; utility with elegance, for pleasure, virtue, or general good;—for national or universal improvement, &c. In vain should we now attempt half a pyramid, or any great monument or enterprize, for the perpetuation or extension of science, glory, general civilization, or happiness:—but these would then become easy and gloriously pleasant to all concerned.—Can we doubt of these things, when we behold, in such little corners as *Crete* and *Lacedemon*, more virtue and exertion than in all the rest of the world;—more labour in Paraguay, than in all the rest of South America; and in every Moravian village, now (though but thinly) scattered round the *globe*, more industry with happiness, than in all the rest of it. And all this without any force or compulsion, or any of those supposed all-powerful, but debasing, vitiating I. B. motives; without which, it is supposed man cannot move or be directed. However, fortunately, such mean, debasing opinions of human nature are a good deal confined to this country.

Man, while forced to prowl for his food, will be a *beast of prey*; and, while totally employed about his animal wants, cannot rise much above a mere animal. This first class will produce a second, and the two between them (viz. the *beasts of prey* and the *beasts of burden*) will gradually comprehend the whole of society;—and the first must diminish in number till it terminate again in the perilous pinnacle of despotism. And this must ever be the round or cycle of human folly and misery, while the right of private property exists,—or rather is admitted, or fancied,—for it cannot exist. While the subsistence of *society*, (which she was bound

bound to keep in her own hand) is doled away, and almost lost in human caprice or rapacity,—in private hands and interests, which are thereby disunited, and rendered totally unfit for its management, even if they had not been naturally so before, by their vicious individuality. The human individual (capable of every thing) and the corporate body (capable of few but important things) have different characters and offices, which should be investigated and assigned. The 1st, for invention, discovery, progress;—the 2d, for judgement, stability, &c.—This and many other essentials of human nature are yet but little understood. But let us secure only to man some certain sources from which these few articles of first necessity may flow, and shew him that they can securely flow from no other;—he may then be turned—moulded into a lamb, a bee, or what you please; being the creature of necessity and situation,—of mind and habit.—But this degree of security is impossible in the present state of society;—exposed to every species of attack, public and private, from every class, body, combination, and individual, from the legislature to the beggar, inclusive;—all interested and employed in with-holding and tearing what they can, from each other; and all rendered inadequate to the places they can only profess to fill in society, by their vicious individuality;—by the selfish views and habits of that situation; which produces an eternal mistrust, and never a full confidence in each other.—Of this channel or chain of individual supply, each can then only retain the last and least possible link in his own hand, which must be relieved from all the rest, as unable and improper to grasp, reach, or manage them;—and in order to be otherwise and better employed; more directly and effectually to the good of the whole.

The yet too general persuasion, that man is incapable of virtue, or of being cured of vice, and must for ever be subject to oppressive inequalities, accumulations, &c. is all nonsense, and will not be thought worth answering, perhaps a few generations hence. If his passions or vices are not fed, they will starve, or disappear in the stream of reason. The most hurtful may all be abolished, with their source, *private property*,—the real tree of the apples of discord and vice.—Along with this, may be rooted out, his avarice, ambition, envy, jealousy, resentment, tyranny, slavery, treachery, ingratitude, imprudence, intemperance, hatred, and, in short, injustice:—without exercise, they will thence all cease to operate, will be supplanted or governed by reason, or change their object. To pretend that we must feed, or despair of curing, the human vices, because they must ever return or regenerate, in some new shape, —were it true, would be worse than the servant evading to clean his master's shoes, as they must be dirty again;—worse, because his proposition was true, and this is not; for our vices may be all extirpated, and virtues planted in their room. Our having gone astray, is surely a bad reason for our going still farther;—

or for turning away from perfection,---even before we know how nearly it is attainable. Man being the creature of habit, can never be a reason for *not* improving his habits, but the contrary. These his injurious opinions of his own nature only serve to expose his present state of animality;---they are the vague and thoughtless dreams of his present corrupt condition, which he blindly supposes perpetual,---unable and unwilling to see, even his own progress. Man is born in society, and therefore obviously inclined more to virtue than vice, because inclined to be happy. People, requiring mutual assistance, cannot live together without some degree of confidence and good faith;---nor even in the present wretched state of vicious individuality, and inimical combinations, without perceiving that mutual attentions are necessary, and that some kind of virtue or honesty is the best policy;---that we cannot purchase any degree of happiness with any thing else;---such is our nature, and that of society, (if it deserves the name) even of mere juxta position. When man, born to labour for his own happiness and that of his fellow-creatures, shall acquire the courage to examine into the real causes of his disappointment, he will discover them, together with the remedies: and the mode of applying these will gradually occur,---and he will then soon perceive how much more easy and pleasant it is to be virtuous, wise, and happy, than the contrary.---To inquire how, and why, the human race has so long been permitted to be otherwise, is now a vain research; though it may, when he arrives at sufficient reason and leisure, assist him with other inquiries, to gain a farther knowledge of himself,---of nature,---of universe; and to shew him the folly of various systems, which have hitherto misguided or retarded his progress.

The world seems approaching some remarkable period or change; the rising disposition to investigate truth should be rightly guided and assisted, but cannot now be stopped; first principles will be searched for, and examined philosophically and politically. Of this fertile and important principle of property, some gradual mode of throwing it all into one common stock may probably become absolutely necessary to several nations. Happily, as it was impossible to conceive a system more ineffectual, diabolical and debasing; so on the other hand, a more efficacious and universal remedy to human evils can hardly be found, than its abolition. The immense resources and happiness, public and private, that may thence be opened, must sufficiently appear in the course of this work. The nations so far debilitated and debauched, as to nauseate and refuse the remedy, must probably sink gradually into or under Asiatic or similar despotism.

If the feeble mind of man yet wants the crutch of lame and blind practice, he will find in history that the merits and happiness of every former government or society may be nearly measured by its approach towards such community of property, wherever it was, though only partially, attempted;---whether in
Crete,

Crete, Sparta, Germany, or America, and by such means only has human nature been raised the nearest to its highest honors. And wherever we may hope for any little scraps of virtue,---of benevolence or public spirit, to be still remaining among men, from their natural turn to virtue, even in spite of the worst of institutions and education, we shall generally find it where there is the least wealth or private property;---among those who have the moderate shares, and who are the nearest considering themselves only as the administrators for the rest;---perhaps in the public service, where the income is fixed and least, and where both life and fortune are the least secure. The fatal effects of individual riches and luxury have been often traced by many wise men;---but human nature seems destined to dwell long with evils, before the remedies can be found.

It has been often thought, that a more equal and minute division of property, if once obtained, might be preserved by a free circulation, or by certain sumptuary regulations, agraria, &c.---and despairing of perfection, even as a distant object, that the next best remedies should be put in its place, so as to find some limits for injustice and inequality. Doubtless some regulations for even the worst of our systems must be attempted, and we must not give up in despair, because the best seems impossible. Even some of the little shifts and inventions of our modern little legislators have sometimes afforded a temporary relief. But the sordid, selfish character, necessarily produced by all private property, and by every system erected on such a base foundation, will ever defeat all the laws and regulations that can be formed against its pernicious consequences. In every division, the most minute or apparently just, the combination of possessors will only become more artful or complicated, but not less oppressive, against the rest; and the whole terminate at last in tyranny, as usual hitherto. But let us hope, that growing wisdom may contrive that---even the little temporary regulations may be made part of some general system, founded or terminating on the good of all, and not merely on that of any parts or classes; that our increasing knowledge may be of some service, and lead to such general principles, as may yet save and advance the human species.

These and other truths of importance in this little work; the very practicable improvement of man, and of society; and the great possible extent of that improvement, might and ought to be clearly stated to mankind; and should all, long ago, have been before them, as objects of general meditation, and kept there, by every possible mode of discussion, and publication; and doubtless would have been, if not ignorantly and industriously kept out of sight by the silly artifices of those who fancy themselves interested in blinding and deceiving their fellow-men, whose eyes and assistance they want, and who would serve them and each other much better by being enlightened and shewn the naked

truth. When we become wise enough to consider the propagation of truth, as our first object, and our most sacred and inviolable duty, we may then be surprized to find mankind so much fitter for her reception, than our fears or pride had painted them. He who professed to hold truth in his hand, but which he would not open or shew to man, was no *philosopher*,---but a *selfish* and a fool; two characters generally found together.

The principles of *union* and *disunion* are both in, or may be generated in, human nature;---though the first class may be the most powerful, they may both be made inversely to expel each other. Strange! that the first should have been as yet the least cultivated; and by promoting chiefly the second, this unnatural alliance which we see, between both, has been preserved. But as it cannot last, the second, once admitted, must expel the first, and finish in despotism or reform; and society begin again, though never twice exactly the same way. The present feudal cycle or period is probably near its termination;---rather hastened by *English tyranny* and stupidity, and then by French impatience.--- Though monarchy, or rather aristocracy (in whose hands monarchy is the tool or machine) seems yet to have many friends in Europe;---perhaps a majority, as to influence and property;---but these must soon sink before wisdom and virtue, and lose their powers, in the present inquisitive and progressive state of the human mind.

The great improbability of every thing, in every society and country, is so obvious to every person of observation, especially in travelling, that 'tis hardly possible to avoid perceiving and planning, as he goes along, how much better the lands, houses, towns, walks, gardens, planting and cultivation in general,---almost every business, might be arranged, placed, cultivated for the general good;---if all were disposed and concerted by the public wisdom, instead of being squandered, abandoned, spoiled and ruined in private hands and interests, by which he may every where see the general welfare perpetually interrupted, impeded, sacrificed; he may be sensibly made to feel, how thoroughly it spoils the possessors, and how improper for the human individual, by the caprices, malevolence, and all the selfish vices of the proprietors;---and whose private interests so seldom and only by accident coincide with the general good;---evading, plaguing, or detesting each other, and almost all mankind. He may be every where shocked, with the ignorant, barbarous idea of tearing to pieces the public stock of happiness; with the various oppressive arts of giving and securing to each plunderer his share of the ruinous spoil; and in giving the shares so unequally, or knowing they must become so.

It is very possible and easy to conceive a cultivable country, such as this, or Ireland, &c. to be gradually turned into one continued town or garden, so as to make it doubtful which it should be called,---with forest and mountain intermixed:---roads, rivers, canals,

canals, police and happiness, all capable of tenfold the present produce and improvement, at least. Or in another view, suppose we were to class the present efforts and institutions of men into three;---as 1st, those that tend entirely to the public good, or more so than against it;---2dly, those more against it; and 3dly, those that are neither, or as much towards the one way as the other: suppose we should find these three nearly equal, and not above half the labour, that might be, in exertion.---Now by turning the whole to the public good, this improvement in the direction and quantity of exertion gives 6 to 1 of the present; and the effects might then be probably doubled, by improving the arrangement and increase of powers; so that the efforts of our ordinary societies might thus be improved, so as to produce, in time, twelve times their present effects. And the progress of man, after certain steps and *data*, must probably accelerate.---This is obvious in America, though spoiled by European vices. On that tract of coast-country, from 30° to 50° N. L. a few centuries back, were scattered, perhaps, above 100 hordes of savage people, in perpetual war among each other; now inhabited and improved into a degree of peace, arrangement, and happiness, at least 100 times preferable to its former condition, in all that is generally admitted to be preferable;---if this time were divided into $\frac{1}{4}$ centuries, the acceleration of the improvement would be visible. It may now proceed, on their present principles of peace and justice, so to accelerate (perhaps near the squares of the times) as to become 100 times more improved, populous, and happy, in two or three centuries more; especially as they may in that time gradually discover and apply all or most of the true principles of society, which, by their being yet in infancy, they are only beginning to perceive: and the chief merit of their present system consists in the absence or removal of impediments to these discoveries.

In man, as the *social* gain upon the anti-social and selfish affections and habits; every other improvement must probably follow:---reflection or reason gradually assume her place of guide and ruler: the moral gain upon the physical causes; justice over injustice;---reason over passion, in the mind;---and perhaps the voluntary over the involuntary motions of the body;---the moving powers,---the energy of the brain, being as yet almost unknown, may all then be understood, and properly directed: the first of each of these, gradually gaining the ascendancy or place of the second, and all at the proper time, viz. when fit for it, or perhaps a little before, so as to be completed by exercise; social men may thus at length so improve and assimilate, as to govern themselves and every thing aright; and all the people on this globe may become like one organized being; each part of which feeling with and assisting the whole, as belonging to it;---or their progress may be infinite as far as yet we can perceive.

Some

Some of these *truths* are so obvious, and the sentiments of such a nature, as to become readily contagious and general, when the public mind shall be more near sufficiently prepared for them;---they can hardly fail of their natural influence, in time: they are plainly in the steps of man's progress; as his joint, social, increasing interests, shall prevail over the selfish, exclusive, and diminishing.---For example,---some better disposition of property, general or gradual, on these or such principles of common good, must occur to most, and in time prevail;---and will gain even the proprietors themselves, who must at length perceive their account in it, and receive back their principal with large interest, in their increasing share of the general happiness. Such a sudden increase of felicity, so universal a remedy, for almost all the human evils, national or individual, cannot long escape the human sagacity. All the *apostles of truth* will assist in opening men's eyes to so important an object, which seems yet destined to cure most of their miseries.

The author's ideas of caution and gradation,---of dividing the task and the benefits of reform to different generations, is certainly a wise and just recourse. However, though the now miserable lower classes of society may be, as yet, unfit for all the truth and freedom necessary to their due happiness, nevertheless, they might sooner be made fit, than most of us imagine. Our trifling, ignorant legislators, travellers, &c. talk of the impossibility of changing the habits and opinions of men; there may be but few equal to the task or idea of attempting it; but these few may be found, and they may create others to assist. A Philip, an Alexander, a Peter, a Keith, a Wolfe, a Lee, were capable of forming and associating other minds to their own, and of changing the habits and character of a regiment---up to a whole nation, in a very short time. Though we must now all comply, and march with the slowest;---let us hope the march may be accelerated, when once begun;---and this must happen soon after a majority shall be convinced of the truth of these principles.

Truth will then arise and extend her empire (though slowly as perhaps she ought) from under all the modes of oppression. 'Tis much worth the philosopher's while to trace her course, and the causes that hasten or retard her progress. He may begin and follow her former and present timid steps of mental emancipation; and see her still fearful, wandering through many erroneous and confined paths of speculation; and even when with all the increasing (printed) means of progress and communication in her hand, yet still scarcely daring to advance towards practice or utility: when venturing to descend a little among mankind;---she finds him worse than insufficiently acquainted with himself;---involved in a thousand absurd, erroneous opinions of his essences, nature, destination, &c. and thereby arrested or rendered incapable of proceeding rightly in any other subjects. He may

may thence see her losing much precious time in combating and removing such obstacles and many others thrown in her way, powerful and innumerable,---classified and rallied under various heads of legislative and scholastic, physical or moral error and ignorance; and wasting her most valuable efforts in fighting with the phantoms of superstition and nonsense;---long detained by Aristotelian, then Xian, then Mahometan, and even by Newtonian nonsense. He may, in this country, see her often stationary or retrograde; and too seldom venturing from her cell,---into life; and there, long misunderstood or unintelligible, (so wretched has been our education) she finds at length a few apostles in the different paths of utility, as if to shew human learning hitherto worse than none;---a Brindley, a Harrison, a Paine, &c. who, by common sense and native strength of mind, though with little science, preparing the materials and the common mind for more scientific and comprehensive operations. He may even perceive this little book, and others that may soon appear, assisting and forwarding her progress,---perhaps several generations. *Science, theory*, thus slowly---timidly rises upon practice or experience, till at length she fearless quits, but without despising the ladder on which she rose, and of which she then assumes the the direction; and at last---governs the world.

Some of these principles, though so evident, and thence so contagious, should and will nevertheless be pretty generally known and considered, before the practice or application is attempted. And they may serve, in the mean time, as the best criterion to estimate the views and intentions of projectors,---to distinguish legislation from usurpation;---the voice and interest of the whole from that of a part. They are already more extended and more generally known than many here may imagine; and may soon break forth with such a blaze, from different parts of the world, as to become irresistible. The wisest are now probably every where meditating or writing on them. We know they are in America, in Scotland, here in England, in London;---and this little work comes to us from Italy, still the soil of superior mind, when properly cultivated; and our (now) friends the French cannot be long in perceiving that all the lands belong to the state or whole society, as well as those of the church. They will probably alter and improve their constitution the next occasion;---and may change the 2d and other articles of it;---(as per note) and if left alone, will naturally gain the right road, and lead as usual, in most of the steps of modern progression:---and must soon perceive that they cannot execute even their present principles of equality, with this nonsensical, injurious, iniquitous right of private property in their way. The rage and violence of parties must certainly diminish by removing the objects of contention, which are generally some kinds of property or power. While these are in our view, the violence of the contention will often be outrageous;---so as to require a third

power

power in the state, as umpire or control, over any two contending parties or combinations, to stop the injustice of the majority or of the most powerful. But this control may be internal on the mind, by reason and sentiment, and be more efficacious than the external by force or fear; and may be more successfully applied, when the objects of contention are diminished: they may then be sufficient for the purpose; especially when society shall be properly organized; the operations of which also become easier, as the habits and motives to selfish individuality can be lessened.

The philosopher may go on, in fancy, to trace the pleasing progression of future societies, as wisdom and truth shall assume their lead, but too tedious here to delineate. Physics, schools,---all the arts of utility and elegance, will then advance fast into degrees of perfection as yet unknown. The M. D's, with every other class, will then be at *their ease*: with the articles of first necessity secured, and thence all their powers of mind turned on the great objects of their profession, to the public good, and general health and happiness. Not then ingrossed by the selfish pursuits and idle dissipations of the world; but the whole society and *faculty* together, organized into one great college or infirmary, as in ancient Egypt, where not a death nor a *disease* need be lost,---but all turned to account, and to promote the progress of knowledge and felicity, by the collective force of the whole medical and philosophic mind;---many of them will travel and examine the whole of man, and other animals, in all their conditions and positions;---not confined to one race, nor merely to the body, or grosser part. This first and most important class of men will then rise from the physician to the philosopher and metaphysician, for which they are the best prepared; and into their place of leaders to the rest;---in both physical and moral knowledge; for these are intimately connected, both being that of man. Every town may then be equal to an Edinburgh, and these, and even Edinburgh, be still farther improved. Her students, when sent out into the world, superior scholars, may not then remain scholars or school-boys, as generally now, for all the rest of their lives,---lost in worldly and pecuniary pursuits;---nor remain the mere apprentices or imitators of their ingenious and fanciful master Cullen, or of any other master. The theory and thinking, now all, in one place; and the practice all lost to science, in others, may then meet and be friends, and produce real knowledge and divine theory, and not merely changes---of one hasty system for another.

All with so much leisure and learning, such a mass of zealous attention and taste for knowledge and elegant pleasures will be turned on the fine, as on the useful arts, as cannot fail to accelerate their progress to an extent now uncalculable. The theatres, halls, temples, in town and country, in the woods and valleys, on the mountains, rivers, and finest situations, will produce
noble

noble scenes and motives for the collected powers of public wisdom and taste.

Law---will be of little use,---and lawyers of none at all. The few laws, that may for some time be necessary, will easily be taught to all;---so that any arbitrators, chosen by the parties, will be sufficient judges; and the masters, with their committees, or *areopagi*, in the last resort, in all the few civil cases or objects of dispute that could occur among a wise and regulated people. The criminal code of our author requires here little or no comment, but demands the general attention.

The schools and education, as here indicated, need hardly be more particularized. Our (now) friends, the French, may soon merit the attention and imitation of the world on this subject, and several others; and from their situation, must probably continue to be the leaders of Europe.

The present ferment or agitation of the general mind will probably produce much truth; and then another symptom of growing wisdom will be,---the agreement of most thinkers and philosophers, on the most essential subjects, (though probably destined long to differ on others, which may be an indication of their lesser importance, and a necessary variety in nature.) Already most of our thinkers, men and women, seem nearly to agree in many of the principal, moral, and political objects;---and though they must, in the present debauched and debased state of the human mind, still partake of the little passions and great vices of the times, we may begin to hope that even *competition* may soon cease to degenerate into jealousy or rank hatred, especially when the objects, ignorantly or villanously held out to excite it, and to separate them, are removed: and when they all come to agree, in the cause of truth,---they become *unvincible*. Then will vanish the little feminine vanities and jealousies about the trifling merits of first invention,---or of the relative importance or sole efficacy of each of his nostrum, &c. &c.---'tis hoped we shall all learn to rejoice in the success of truth;---in seeing the work done;---no matter who first thought of it.

Many seem already to agree, that as wise and true principles prevail, what is now called government, may have still less to do; and especially *legislation*, which, if wise, must surely at length produce a few good laws or institutions, such as may not require eternal patching and mending, or for which a periodical review, or repair may suffice. Too few seem yet aware, that 'tis this perpetual legislative power which is the most dangerous, to trust out of our own hands; and should never be so trusted but when absolutely necessary:---by representation, 'tis almost impossible to do it with safety, in the present selfish, isolated state of man in society. Let my representative invent and propose, which appertains to the individual mind; but let us still retain the right of approving---of judging, which belongs individually to the body or whole, and cannot probably be delegated:---and

let him control or command the executive, so long as necessary ; but that necessity, 'tis hoped, may also gradually cease, as wisdom, institution, election, rotation, shall improve.

It might be desirable to see yet something more done by nations and governments, as such, before they are, as it were, dissolved into their original elements of happy associates,---or into small governable societies;---and these, into larger federations, which may in time extend---round the globe:---but then the peace and wisdom of the day may better answer its own purposes, than all our present dim foresight. If we might suppose a few of the first nations advancing into the right form, they will then probably better agree, among each other, in every thing, and particularly in a few of the great objects that nearly concern all Europe. For example, in colonizing and improving some of the neighbouring countries, in Asia, and in Africa: this, perhaps, may then be easily done, by the general consent and assistance of Europe ; and possibly executed chiefly by some of her many spare princes, nobles, and aristocrats, who may then have little else to do, if they cannot learn to live under natural justice and rational equality. Only two objects seem to require or deserve the general attention or a general war, if they cannot be otherwise accomplished, viz. 1st, the driving the Turk from Europe ; and, 2dly, the liberation of South America. But 'tis hoped the first may be done, without much war or bloodshed ;---and the other, at its proper season, will do itself.

But some think the present progress and success of truth yet doubtful :---that the passing moral cycle may perhaps be past its *acme*, or utmost *alcance*,---and its direction doubtful. These fear, if the present enemies to truth and rational freedom should prove the most numerous, and finally prevail, it will be too evident a symptom of the decline and debauch of the present public mind, which may not then be able to recover itself, or stop its gradual descent into despotism, and thence barbarism again. Too many of these causes of decline thence occur to intimidate and discourage the reflecting mind. He sees insatiable avarice and ambition, which are not quenched, but increased, by feeding their flame ; and while supported by the selfish system of exclusive property, will not only prevent man from rising to real civilization, but must finally produce a decline ; as wealth, while divided and appropriated, must ever debase and debauch the human character, unless it can bring knowledge enough (which is doubtful) to perceive and evade its own evils, and the approaching fall ; and in short, unless the true *philosophers* can persuade the leaders (as our author indicates) to take more true and enlarged views of man and society;---or shall become the leaders themselves, of which, indeed, there is now a rising hope. But something more calamitous, if possible, has been hinted to threaten Europe, in consequence of this tendency, and which may accelerate her downfall, viz. that *Africa*, in her present state of barbarism,

barism, is becoming not only the hot-bed and nursery of all the pestilential disorders, but must transmit them to other countries so much the easier, as Europe descends towards despotism, and thence into relaxation and debility. Already Asia, Greece, Turkey, South of Italy, and Spain, are far advanced in this direction; indolence, ignorance, and want; thence disease, confusion, revolt:—there successively threaten depopulation, famine, pestilence; or approaching inability to keep them out. And we may thence conceive a possible destruction of most of the human race again in another way. But as we may also hope there is now, or will soon be, *reason* enough in Europe to perceive and evade these evils. Political or moral science, hitherto so far behind the rest, has now some chance of being brought up into her place, to complete the circle and strength of the European mind. She may thence gradually prevail over tyranny and ignorance; having gained a footing in the new, she cannot long be kept out of the old world. When her friends in both continents shall fall upon the right method of uniting their efforts:—by mutual assistance;—when once established at home, and secure from abroad, they will then become invincible, and probably soon spread their principles over the world.

Therefore the most indubitable proof of Europe having arrived at the right or advancing progression, would be, the seeing her different societies, nations, or associations, agreed and employed in colonizing again their neighbouring *African* and *Asiatic* countries, and particularly those that surround the Mediterranean sea, that fine first feature of this globe; and then those of the Black and Caspian Seas; and between these, establish perhaps a capital and great empire; and from thence to push on civilization and rational government into *Asia*, on its temperate zone, (as it is said Peter the Great and M. Keith wanted to do.)—’Tis thus European wisdom might shew her superiority, true philosophy attain her place of guide, and wars and despotism be banished or buried together.

We should not entirely reject and despise such pleasing, though as yet fallacious, reveries; they may have even now some of the best effects on the mind. We may thence conceive the central mountains of *Asia* and sources of its rivers becoming again the natural seat and fountains of wisdom, and thence again to spread over the earth, (see Baillie’s *Ancient Astronomy and Letters*.) We may fancy Egypt, Upper and Lower,---even Abyssinia, Arabia, Carthage, Asia Minor, &c. to be gradually colonized (not peopled) by our then European wisdom and benevolence; which may likewise be assisting to Russia, in improving Northern Asia.--- But ’tis coast that, now-a-days, gives the chief consequence to countries; and ’tis probably her quantity of coast that gives the superiority to Europe. This, in 3 ways; 1st, as the means of communication of such countries with others: 2dly, as having,

there, generally the best lands and readiest markets; 3dly, as possessing the best parts of the rivers. Upwards on these, arts and industry gradually extend, and towards their sources, and vallies of the mountains, establish or grow into--science and wisdom; and at length discover and adopt the true principles of society; and direct commerce and colonization, on liberal principles, round the globe. Such seems to be the natural history and course of human improvement. America may probably be the first to adopt and lead to political wisdom: France may follow: though both are but yet in the infancy of this knowledge; they are probably the nearest the right road to it, by removing some of the chief impediments to the natural progress of *mind* or thought, which is the *ingredient* of this great composition, the world, or perhaps the universe, which will gradually ferment, clarify, and at last set the whole to rights.

This now great nation, Britain, might eminently assist this natural and grand progression: but so ignorant and debauched, it is not, we fear, to be hoped or expected for a long time yet to come. Having found her horse-nest of commerce and riches, before she had $\frac{1}{2}$ the science, or $\frac{1}{10}$ the wisdom, necessary to use them, she cannot be taught or reformed, perhaps, without some check or misfortune; which indeed is probable enough, with her present system of corruption and ignorance. Some of her philosophers should calculate and demonstrate to the nation how little chance they have of a reform in their present state, character, and form of legislation or society; either from themselves, or from any leaders that can be chosen, by those who are almost the least fit to chuse: and how doubtful that any leaders can yet be found sufficiently fit for the purpose:---and that the public mind must first be far more enlightened, and education much more general and improved, before either electors or elected can be found, fit for the great duties of reform and regeneration; and in short, that 'tis at least doubtful, if it be practicable;---till a large majority are disposed and ready to throw all property into one common stock.

However, the right *form* of government and legislation, or free operation of the general *will*, is probably of such great importance and efficacy, that, if once established, all the other steps of political progress would gradually follow. On finding then how much easier it is to do the public business right than wrong; --to lead men directly to their true interest, without the trouble of deceiving them; their progress would then be direct and rapid towards the true principles of society. A fair representation of the people (not the property) of this country (for example) would soon find means to collect, improve, and execute the sense of the nation: and would not long hesitate in following the present obvious path of national and of general interest, viz. 1st, still farther to improve the representation; and, 2dly, to join heartily in the present liberal views of France and America,

rica, (leading Holland and Prussia) so as to establish peace, plenty, and happiness round the earth. Spain and the rest would soon be forced to follow; and thence the liberation of South America, and the gradual civilization of all nations.

Without some such measure or change;---or supposing it possible to persist in the present system, it is melancholy and vexatious to observe, from these our moral calculations, that the principal *insula* and *peninsula* of Europe (Spain and Britain) would most likely be, not only the last to reform, but impediments to the reformation of the rest. Such is the corrupting and lasting influence of individual *riches* and hereditary *ranks* in their extreme. In this shape, these become the prize and stimulus to the most vicious efforts and corrupt dispositions in our nature; but, as the riches of the state or whole society, or as the temporary reward of merit, they may be made just the contrary;---a powerful motive to virtuous exertions, viz. for the general good: and we know that man may be made to act with more zeal and energy for others, and still more for others and self,---for the whole, than merely for self.

This country has by accident produced some great minds;---deep thinkers, and sound reasoners:---but they have had the least effect possible, not having produced any school or race of such, nor any nursery or institution from whence wisdom, virtue, and others like themselves, might be expected to proceed. And such seem of late to diminish, as our commerce and riches increase; supplanted by a few triflers, or refiners: all the rest being probably absorbed in the vortex of rapacity and its consequences; as if destined to be a living example of our doctrine, and in time to exhibit to the world the extreme or ultimate effects of the selfish system of private property; a horrid stream which blackens and deepens as it flows, till lost in the ocean of its own complete success. Thence probably might be traced the source of certain injurious opinions of us, which seem of late to spread through Europe, of our preceding the other nations in corruption and decline. The observers fancy they perceive, through all our fallacious wealth and assumed prosperity, the downfall of virtue, and even of the mask of former reputation. They say, "till the present debauched and ignorant race and principles which produced,---which projected and directed the American war, and our present political system, shall *drop off*; there can be no liberality or wisdom expected here, sufficient to lead towards a reform, or to favor the dawn of reason now opening on the rest of Europe. That all our fancied improvements, being founded on this selfish system of exclusive property, and in the security of that evil, are only so many erroneous sources of superior vices, and can only produce the most complete character of egotism and rapacity,---the most selfish, tyrannical, and unjust nation in Europe,---the most unsocial and unhappy," &c. Perhaps we had
better

better try to estimate the truth, than the malevolence of such opinions; and rather aim at ceasing to deserve, than be offended with them.

That this country should now produce no characters who are *up* to the present period, big with the fate of Europe, and thence of the world, is not surprising; for 'tis doubtful if any such now exist any where. There were once hopes that a *Catharine* or a *Brunswick* were to shew themselves equal to this eventful æra: but 'tis already too plain they are not. None yet appears, who can foresee or direct the events, or guide the storm, which must therefore, like the universe, produce its own unforeseen effects. Not a Themistocles, an Aristides, a Peter, or a Keith, appear to join and lead the present enlarging, spreading stream of human enthusiasm into the channels or road of reason, and its right progression.

Almost all the few great and good kings in history have been democrats; and have taken the part of the people, against the great. Not one of the present set daring to assume and persist in such a character, shews too plainly that they are now only the *tools of aristocracy*.

Though mind or reason seems of late to degenerate here, there are now symptoms of its revival. The striking truths and principles of this little and important work had already occurred to some of us. Why they have had so little effect since mentioned by some of our wisest men, (as a Sir T. Moore, a Fletcher, Mably, Wallace, &c.) may be too readily accounted for, from the general errors in principles and government,---from the times, manners, &c. The period may now perhaps excite, regenerate, and diffuse these and other important truths and ideas in this naturally strong national mind: other Lockes and Sydneys, and still more profound and useful reasoners, may arise, who may have influence on our absurd and viciated institutions,---ministers and legislators; and thence may be instituted some source from whence others like themselves may proceed in succession, to enforce the continued influence of political wisdom, in which this nation has ever been so deficient.

If we had sufficient reason and energy to spare,---time and assistance,---this little treatise might serve, as well as any other opportunity, for a text or scaffold to preach or build upon. But in the present state of society, we can never have what we really want. Every thing is given away, dispersed, or misplaced, and nothing where, nor as it should be. So that all the pretended means of money and industry are given us in vain,---after the market is over, or when nothing worth having is to be purchased. Double disappointment! Thus a false principle has always double---treble, or multiplied evils in its train. Society was, eminently here, approaching a period when all the lower classes should be completely employed or engrossed in providing for

for their mere physical or animal wants ;---their time and mind, as it were, annihilated ;---their moral character viciated, debilitated, brutified. Thence perhaps proceeds the too general belief of the impossibility of reform ; or of the improbability or perfectibility of man, who is considered so far sunk, as impossible to be raised ;---or as originally more inclined to evil than good, towards which last he can therefore only be driven by force or coercion. On seeing what he is (especially here) few can open their conception to what he may be. We mistake our own work for that of nature ; and by our system of liberty and property reducing man fast towards a viciated and animal condition, we fancy him capable of no other.

In no other nation have we found these melancholy, degrading opinions of human nature so prevalent. If we class the human faculties into, 1st, the animal ; 2dly, sympathetic ; and, 3dly, rational : the two last are evidently social and improvable : so that his moral may be to his animal character, at least as 2 to 1 ; and, being so clearly capable of a progress, may advance far beyond this ratio.

'Tis no uncommon English idea, both public and private, that any motive, which tends to employ and animate man to exertion, is sufficient for all the purpose : so that the motives of fear, or fortitude,---avarice, or generosity ; the horrors of want, or the joy and exultation of happiness,---bloody ambition, or divine benevolence ; our worst or best passions,---the doing good or evil,---feeding, or starving ; teaching or deceiving, saving or destroying millions of men ;---cutting throats, or healing of hearts, &c. are to them nearly equal, provided they promote the human exertions. Not aware of the villany and nonsense of such opinions, they have some confused or vague idea, that by each pursuing his own interests and passions,---a general *brigandage* or moral chaos is to produce the good of the whole,---they know not how or why : and nothing seems now capable of opening their eyes, till their sight shall be of no use ;---till they find themselves in the dark bottom of the pit of corruption,---of ignorance and vice. 'Tis needless here, and perhaps impossible, to trace all the absurd and pernicious consequences of such doctrine.---Those exertions which tend wholly to the public good are as easily, and perhaps easier, excited than the contrary. The difficulties are,---in the *ignorance of legislators*. But this nation cannot long continue to be the teacher of others, nor be attended to, as such ; even the force of her arms and menaces must decline, with her virtue and wisdom.

We have already observed, that the Mediterranean is a principal feature and object in this globe ; as the medium of communication to so many countries : and till this is cleared of *plague* and *piracy*, Europe, and thence the world, cannot probably improve ; and therefore must decline, for it is never stationary. This would be

at once a step and symptom of the right political progression;--- for this purpose the medium must be calmed, open, and free.--- But this great subject or science of human communication,--- mechanical, mental, local,---the objects and the means,---require and must yet probably obtain much attention and improvement. Some parts of this great subject become at once both means and object. The chief part, *language*, after all its astonishing progress, is perhaps yet but in infancy, when compared with what it may yet become. Printing, drawing, music, *algebra*, numbers, geometry, have not yet probably produced ⁱⁿ their possible effects; more than the efficient means hitherto employed, 1st, of schools; 2dly, societies; 3dly, books; 4thly, missionaries. When all these shall operate, then will all the nations soon be wise, pacified, and open; safe and free to each other: when the increasing means and mediums of communication are properly employed, the collective force of human thought will show its immense powers in ways and degrees only in part now to be foreseen.

Men and nations must communicate in order to improve.--- Though local wisdom may possibly form insulated happy spots, at first independent of the rest, these cannot probably advance far nor long, without infecting and improving their neighbours,--- nor without their assistance, and some essential communication, which, though diminished in quantity, will increase in importance, and will at last carry their truth, science, and happiness round the world. The colonization of wisdom will not be by conquest, nor by any of the ill-connected, individual strength of selfish passions and vices; but by the irresistible and lasting power of truth and virtue, in a real full union of mind, bent on the general good. But for this, all the rapacious, selfish, gambling systems of private property and advantage, must be abolished and cancelled from the mind of man, which must find its happiness in the very act of labouring for the public weal, which we know to be possible and practicable.

Not yet half civilized, man began prematurely to colonize and pretend to teach (or rather to infect) other nations before he knew the art of being happy himself, and carried them therefore only his vices, worse than their own.

The moderns seem to have come to science by inheritance, before they had wisdom to use it: the ancients, by the contrary progression. The wisdom of Greece was advancing fast towards perfection; leaving science to follow, which it did, in her train; and might have gone far, had she not been interrupted, 1st, by wars, and Persian luxuries; and then by Roman conquest. The Roman, then a stupid soldier, considered at first the taste, wisdom, and science of Greece only with contempt, or as the slavish ministers of his barbarous and sensual pleasure. He soon brutally

tally broke through all her wise limits, to excess of ornament, and thence to economy in pleasure; and at last vulgarly satiated and destroyed himself in all the boundless extravagance of tyranny and luxury; and transmitted his viciated taste and errors to modern Europe, (so soon as she recovered sense and light enough to gather the inheritance :) but 'tis yet doubtful if she can even equal, or barely imitate, some of the eminent traits in the character of this her great, though ignorant and tyrannical master; or ever attain to *Grecian* excellence, by this inverse direction; ascending through science and corruption together, instead of descending to it, from the heights of wisdom, from whence all is seen, regulated, and attained. If attainable, in this inverse way, we may conclude with *Plato*, that only philosophy can be her guide:--and you know he refused to legislate for any who would not first agree to live in *community of property*, which he justly considered as a fundamental principle of *society*; and without which it can never arrive at the summit or view of wisdom,--justice,--happiness.

WHILE these things are writing and printing, new ideas and information occur; which serve to shew the present accelerating progress of *mind*;--but most of which must now be left to another occasion.

It has been observed that our author's subject is grand, and discovers a mind above the common order,--but has need of collision with other mind;--that he uses the word *liberty* in a sense of his own, (as many others have done:)--that he should have explained more clearly the doctrine of *necessity*, as mankind should be brought to reform and adapt their language to that evident doctrine,--and thence be taught to consider and look for *justice* instead of *liberty*; as *justice* amply comprehends and emphatically expresses all the reform after which mankind are panting; and the most unanswerable argument will be, to shew them that nothing but *strict justice* is required or intended by reform.

These and other moral or metaphysical truths will probably now be made clear and comprehensible to all; which seems to have been all that was wanting in any nation to its commencing the necessary reform: man seems at length determined to know himself, and to assert his rights: and various tracts to assist him will soon appear from the great and ultimate manufactory, the *human mind*, now generally at work on these subjects.

All science will be simplified, and that of man the most of all. The *unity* and *agency* of mind will be rescued from needless technic and confusion, and shewn to itself in its naked and simple essence, for examination and improvement. It will probably appear clearly enough, that whether in a state of passion, reason, or sympathy, it is still the same mind, or faculty of reason, thought, or perception:---that action or change is as necessary to *mind*, as to *matter*; (or, according to some, to the *qualities* called matter)---that mind, in short, *must* act; and the perception of the best (that is, the supposed best) is the uniform and incessant motive to action. If we admit *pain* to be the general agent (as our author hints to be possible) it would seem to render existence a perpetual punishment;---especially when we fail in procuring the *sufficient lenitives*, which he supposes to be necessary to the sensation called *pleasure*.

In this important year (1792) will probably be completed the foundation, on which will be erected the superstructure of a great and simple system of liberty,---or rather of justice and happiness, for all the future race of mankind.

Some other trifling objections to different parts of systems, here proposed for discussion, may as yet remain unanswered, but not unanswerable. As that of *common property*, being hitherto observed to be generally neglected, or ill managed:---plainly because the members or managers have other private interests, passions, or sinister views, (as well as their vicious habits of egotism and individuality) which divert, distract, or engross their attention and their efforts; but which will not be the case, when the public property becomes the only resource of each and of all; and in labouring for the whole, men shall acquire the pleasing habits of virtue, benevolence, public spirit.

As to *danger*---from these or any other speculative principles, it is only the supposition of such an absurdity that can create it, by a needless provocation of human reason,---as the prescriptive lists; 1st, by the French Aristocrats (too well known to some of this country) produced those of their enemies on the 2d September. The last luminous race of French writers have demonstrated to us,---that no doctrine can be *dangerous*,---where there is liberty to examine and confute. 'Tis only error, mystery, and the suppression of truth, that are dangerous. It will be a melancholy proof of the declining nature of all our present *sovereignities*, if none of them should have sagacity enough to foresee reform, and prepare for, by, or against the immense flood of moral truth, which is now obviously ready to overflow Europe;---probably of more weight and importance than all that had appeared in the world before this important period. In the assisting it to flow, and directing its course, will now be seen and estimated the degrees of public wisdom; and in the vain and various attempts to stem or stop the tide, will be perceived the different species of public folly and ignorance, the produce of our defective institutions.

tions. Probably among the greatest of these follies have been the *royal proclamations* and *royal combinations*, which have a tendency to provoke, unite, create an enemy, consisting of at least .9 of mankind; and which will now certainly demolish monarchy, in Europe and America, at least:---how long a few of the *black princes* of Africa and Asia may afterwards remain, is difficult yet to foresee. Of the new ideas about property, 'tis only the agrarian which is at all dangerous; and *that* only to a few of the great proprietors, who are commonly among the least important and worst members of society: whereas the *community of property*, wherever it has appeared, (though hitherto but seldom and faintly seen) has always proved the most benevolent and peaceful principle that ever yet united and blessed mankind: and we will venture to prophesy that no moral or political system, without *community of property*, will ever answer $\frac{1}{2}$ the possible purposes, or produce $\frac{1}{2}$ the improvement or progress in society,---and in the species, of which they are capable.

Most of the supposed errors and controvertible doctrines of our author have now been noticed. Perhaps the best way to answer him and his constitution, would be---*to make a better*.---Let us hope that practice and theory may yet unite, so as to lead us to truth and wisdom; and in the mean time that this mode of briefly discussing the differing opinions, and presenting opposing ideas to the mind for its choice, will prove satisfactory to the real lovers of knowledge and truth. *Il s'agit de faire penser*: and so soon as the majority of any society or nation shall assume the courage to think for themselves,---the business is done: and all the improvement or happiness, of which they are capable, thence commences its visible progression. They will soon be astonished, on looking back, to see how long and how egregiously they have been deceived; and on looking forward, to see how simple and easy it is to be wise and happy, towards which only a few friends, and a few little books like this, will be necessary,---at least to begin, and to furnish all the means requisite.---Perhaps the whole science of wisdom or happiness may then soon be reduced to a few questions, the solutions to which will appear on stating them.

Men will probably soon perceive, that only cultivating the love of *justice* and of *esteem*, among themselves and children, will be all that is necessary, as under these two classes may be arranged all the virtues and improvements necessary to man. Perhaps all former authorities and institutions will thence *drop off*; and humanity and energy enough then exist to permit and ensure its being done,---*by degrees*,---according to the course of nature. All the complicated machinery of law, church, government, armies, navies, &c. will rot off, like ripe fruit, and fresh buds of simple wisdom and virtue grow out in their room. The right ideas on the most essential subjects will readily rise up in their proper places; as the abolition, gradual or sudden, of all *property*,

and all *punishment*; or, at least, to begin by curtailing from these what is, even now, obviously excess; disposing of it, in the best manner, for the general good. Individual accumulation of property must then soon appear both needless and pernicious.

The necessary institutions for the few but important objects which may still be considered as public or national, will readily occur: as the public *will* or *wisdom* will both improve, and have less to do; and therefore be more equal to its task, as 4 to 1:—not, as now, the dreaded power which annihilates all mind in its freedom of agency and energy. Society will then guarantee to each the free exercise or agency of his will, which, once raised or formed to what it ought to be, may be effected at a much easier rate than now. Instead of the greatest part of society being forced to give up *all* their time, as now, to the support of their animal nature, and have none to spare, while the remaining few have too much; we shall probably find, that all giving only $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of our time to the public, may be sufficient to purchase the free use of the rest; and even that rest, we shall probably then be more disposed to bestow on others, than on self: and thence, by each attending chiefly to the public and to others, the whole will be better taken care of. The *public* wisdom must improve with the *private*: we must try to get rid of the worst parts of it, and improve the remainder. Even the ruinous folly of public debts may, perhaps, at last be made to produce some good;—nay, an immense good;—by forcing some nations to throw all their property into one common stock, for the general benefit; for when the greatest part of society shall come to pay nearly 20s. in the pound to another small and insignificant part, for old debts, &c. the whole may then be forced into some such compromise, and thereby purchase the liberation from most of their miseries, and an immensity of happiness, to all; so much better than one part crushing the other, and gaining only more unhappiness to themselves.

Many and important will be the consequences of these few principles, and many the writers to tell them to us, with the numerous other ideas which will now be bred in the mind of man, by the present appearance of mental emancipation. There may be much repetition of matter; but a variety in the manner may favour the cause and extension of *truth*; and the ofteneft repeated, will not probably be the worst parts. Several of these latter ideas have also proceeded from the author and his conversation; and 'tis hoped he may not yet forsake us, but still assist to reform (if possible) this now *base* and sordid nation, which must otherwise go on, sinking irrecoverably into the dirt of *ranks*, *riches*, and *sensuality*:—yes,—we may venture and insist on the term *base*,—if true that there ever was a majority of us for carrying war and destruction among our brethren in America;—and already again in the same spirit, with still greater injustice, if possible, bent upon opposing—refusing to our (now) friendly neighbours, the French, their natural right of forming a constitution for

for themselves ;—a right which we ourselves have already claimed and used.—But let us hope,—let philosophy, justice, humanity, hope it may yet appear in this case, as in the American war, that a large majority are against such crying—shameful injustice ; and that the same kind of national majority will soon again teach any M—y that shall venture to support such doctrine ; and more especially if it should dare to lead the nation into the ruinous consequences, and openly join with despotism, against a people nobly struggling for freedom and justice to all mankind.* This may be the best termination of such a government ; almost every other would be worse. Perhaps the prophecies of Peter the Great, and of M. Keith, may yet be fulfilled, viz. that the French aristocracy would finish about the end of this century : and then, soon after, the corruption of this government will so provoke the distant parts of the empire,—America, Scotland, Ireland, &c. that they will gradually join, and dictate *reform* to the rotten and corrupted center.

The true principles of *peace*, or of society, have not probably yet been seen upon earth : only some few detached parts have appeared, in glimpses, to *speculation* ; and to *practice*, fewer still. Men have hitherto lived in a kind of mitigated or regulated *war* or egotism ;—or rather, in the various attempts to regulate it, has consisted most of human legislation. It will soon be seen to be impossible, without removing, or stopping entirely the sources of war and contention, and substituting those of real peace and justice (when found.) This discovery is a necessary step in our progress. Every one for self, and God for all, or the d—I may take the hindmost, (the true English maxim, and their present leading principle of society) is certainly a state of war more than of peace. But now that men seem determined to search, they may find ; and even from this little book, and others which may soon appear ;—from the practice, discoveries, and mistakes of our neighbours, may perhaps be gathered, at last, the true principles of peace, which may be put together, and form a system that shall support and improve itself.

Stability in any mode of society, hitherto seen, is visible—double nonsense ;—a planting—fixing of error, and unfit for man, who is by nature *progressive*. Our modern idea and desire of stability is a sentiment of mere indolence, the produce of corruption.

If our weak and ill-constructed government could be above half wise, they would now shew the people a certain hope of reform, in its proper distance and point of view ;—would point to a *convention* of the 3 kingdoms at —, (since conventions are happily coming in fashion) on the true principles,—not on any *partial*, but on the *general*, interests of society :—a true repre-

* As in 1782 : and it requires no great sagacity to foresee that this war will soon be yet more unpopular than that of America, being more unjust if possible.

sensation,

sensation, not of property, but of men or *mind*. This must happen, and probably much sooner than now expected. Thence will proceed public wisdom, internal and external; which will gradually produce virtue and happiness at home, and our natural alliances abroad,---till the whole world come to be---but one alliance.

Happily some of these obvious principles are gaining numerous proselytes, daily; and with an accelerating progression, ever since mentioned by *Paine*, and others:---and nothing less will now answer the purposes of reform, or give national satisfaction.--- Every other partial, aristocratic, or tory little scheme of a few more county members, will now be as much too late, as were our American commissaries, or as will soon be the *harvest of advantages*, now to be reaped by joining and supporting, as we ought, the *French and American Republics*, in carrying freedom, good government, and happiness, with our own commerce, round the world.

It is already obvious to *many*, that all the old established ranks and authorities throughout Europe will now be taken down, and only a few temporary changeable offices erected in their stead; and these will thence yearly diminish. This *many* will gradually, and perhaps quickly, grow up to a large *majority* (if not so already)---and *then* seems to be the proper time for such changes: they will then gently introduce themselves; modes of gradual application of principles to practice will occur, and ideas of violence disappear. So that the *people*, with their teachers and philosophers (of their own choice) must be left to govern themselves as they please; *mind* and practice will soon lead them into the right progression. *This operation* will probably be the least precipitate, where there is most knowledge and wisdom;---where the folly of vain resistance, of hasty abolition,---of needless, or of any sufferings,---of injustice shall be made most evidently to appear.--- *This operation* began with the *art of printing*, as was then, or soon after, sagaciously foreseen by Cardinal Wolfey and others: it has been going on, ever since, with accelerating velocity; and the law of that acceleration seems, of late, to have advanced by some recent events in America, &c. as already mentioned.

The present European *aristocracy*, having long acquired most of the vices proceeding from *permanence*, cannot now last long: nay, the vice of permanence itself is sufficient reason for the abolition. It may hasten its own destruction by the folly of a vain resistance,---by its ill-timed tyrannical pretensions, creating and extending destruction, and thence become still more generally hateful and hated. These classes, being now but a small party of a great whole, what they may suffer by desertion will render their rage and ignorance still more puerile and contemptible. They seem to behave now like spoiled children, taking pet and playing truant, for mere baubles.

Anarchy (which can never last long) is always better than *despotism* of any kind; and most kinds of government have been needlessly despotic hitherto: habit and reason will soon reconcile and demonstrate all this to us. To give men the right ideas of *property* and of *superstition*, so long and so far wrong, must probably yet be a work of time: though such astonishing human progress has lately appeared, that we should now perhaps despair of nothing.

A great part of the present selfish race of mortals may long continue to laugh at the idea of a *community of property*; while others, with our author, consider it as a certain and inevitable, though perhaps yet a distant, step in the human progress:—the first fancy that men would be thereby debased into flocks of animals; and that even *Spartans*, if without *war* and *Helots*, would soon have dwindled into *Helots* themselves, from the want of sufficient motives to exertion;—supposing that only the selfish passions can constitute or produce those sufficient motives; for which reason and virtue will always be too feeble. The other party treat such opinions and opponents with great contempt, and deny their conclusions: they alledge, that such shallow reasoners are yet too young in the subject, and cannot have sufficiently considered it:—that the doctrine will soon be still more clearly proved and elucidated;—that Sparta would have been much better, more populous, and its inhabitants certainly more active and industrious, without war or slavery:—that though many of the present race may persist in supporting the doctrine of their own passions, habits, and vices, yet *posterity* will be gradually gained to the side of *truth* and *virtue*, the influence of which has already appeared in the world sufficiently to shew that they are destined to be essential parts of the human character in its progressive improvement.

The true ideas of *religion* or *superstition* seem to make such progress, of late, in *France*, *America*, &c. that we may hope they cannot be long in making their way hither. The French have had their *Helvetiuses*, *Voltaires*, *Mirabeaus*; and we have also our *Collins*, *Chubb*, *Humes*; and though our courtly and *blessed church* has contrived of late to stifle and almost suppress these and all such powerful and rational writers, they will now probably soon be revived again, and many others, like them, appear.

Such are some of the *traits* of the present progressive state of these important questions, and of the *human mind*, which may now advance with double—treble advantage,—1st, from being strengthened by gradual emancipation and exercise; 2dly, from the subjects of real importance being reduced and simplified, more of them will be taken in, by the same powers of mind, and still more by additional powers; whence its decisions will become at once more numerous, certain, and easy.

We are certainly much obliged to this author, with all his errors, for opening the subject so well, and shewing the thinking mind that so many better ways to political happiness, than have
been,

been, may yet *be*, discovered;—for so wisely pointing to posterity as the right road to reform, &c.—Such are some of the general views of this *great and important subject*, *HUMAN SOCIETY*, and which ought to be yet more fully but simply displayed to all mankind; and towards which, it is hoped, some pains will now be taken.

Reform

The present active spirit of reform is from N. America;—the speculative soil being previously well prepared, in France, by Helvetius, Rousseau, &c. Free from most of our vicious European habits and prejudices, the Americans must and ought now to lead in all first-rate or *political wisdom*. A *Franklin*, a *Paine*, a *Barlow*,—have already scattered among us more important practical truths, than all the Europeans together have been able to do for themselves.——When nations become wise and liberal enough to invite strangers of merit,—and especially into their legislature, *reform* can hardly fail; and when we shall be able to invite and entice over some more of their wise men,—some of their *Hamiltons*, *Knoxes*, *Jeffersons*, &c.:—from these, together with the wisdom of a *C. Fox*, and of a few philosophic and philanthropic friends, perhaps *we, too*, may begin to look up for salvation.

The *people* here, though a good deal spoiled, by too much gin, and submission to their sordid and tyrannical employers, may yet be *recovered*, and their children still easier; and may soon be properly *organized*, or thrown into small divisions, as parishes, in order to vote for electors, who would elect members for the convention, &c. and into clubs of 10 or 20 each, men and women,—for instruction and deliberation, but never for action, except on some single and extraordinary occasions, for which no previous provision had been made. As from this spirit of reform these natural effects must flow, 'tis surely wiser to prepare a channel, than to spread inevitable destruction, either by attempting to smother the flame, or oppose the torrent.

Till we see if we are to be permitted to speak our minds through the press, or are to be gagged and silenced with inquisitorial terrors—in short, if we are to be freemen or slaves:—pendent this important question, we mean to go on collecting such cursory observations as may occur, and be thought worthy of attention, whenever they can be safely communicated;—to aim at *truth*,—to think and speak what we believe right, independent of every other consideration.

The powers and influence of this great art of printing must be immense, and far beyond any thing that has ever yet been seen: its great and beneficial effects were just beginning to appear; despotism thence took the alarm (though probably too late) and these effects will be the greatest loss of all, if freedom and virtue should be vanquished in the present European contest.—Till now, little more had been done than sow the seeds of liberty and good government, which may now be nipped in the bud, unless supported by sufficient force as well as reason. The great importance of this

art

art is taken more from what *may be*, than from what *has been*, done by it; otherwise the number of hands which it employs, might be considered as a waste of powers, when we see the small progress and general ignorance of the people. But we may perceive the improved soil and the seeds that have been long preparing; and the harvest might soon have come,—but for this killing frost. Even our numerous *periodical* publications were rather as vehicles prepared, than employed, for the spread of useful knowledge, and ready for wisdom whenever she may deign to visit us: and she may thence be known by appearing there in her proper sphere, for the general instruction or information of all mankind. *L'imprimerie battra l'artillerie*, when it gets fair play, and will certainly decide every question more justly.

Every one should have a small and well-chosen catalogue of the *best authors*, and access to read them either entire or abridged; this was beginning in France, &c. and would soon have been the case throughout Europe. Even the riches and ignorance of this country could not long have been so deceived and insulted, as to believe there can be any thing written which a rational being ought not to read.

The more wicked and absurd, the more visible the defects, and the more easily answered; and with lesser defects, the danger diminishes;—but the pretended danger is at once an absurdity and an insult. There can be no danger where there is liberty to answer, — In short, the press must be laid open, in every country that has a mind to improve in any thing.—It is therefore hoped, that this country cannot remain long blind, in this, more than in the American war; and that she will soon open her eyes, and see her true interest, viz. to restore, or assist in giving peace, freedom, and good government, to all the world; and that ministers may be found wise enough for these purposes, and who shall see farther than the little blind jealousy of property, of commerce, aristocracy, or despotism; and who will consult men of knowledge and truth, while any such remain.

The useful philosophers and *thinkers* may be classed, 1st, into those of the *world*, and, 2dly, those of the *clouds*: let not the statesman despise either but consult both; and on hearing one class, let him reserve an ear for the other. Their mutual contempt of each other forms no solid objection to either, and will gradually disappear. The 2d class, or the *Theorists*, who have been treated with most contempt by ignorant statesmen, &c. will probably soon be found the most valuable; and when they and the practitioners come to understand one another, reason may then govern the world.

The *practicability* of every theory, system, or speculation, is doubtless of the 1st importance: but, alas! who are judges of practicability? not the practitioner. From Alexander to Wolfe, inclusive, the greatest and wisest ideas of genius have been thought

impracticable by the common run of cotemporaries.—Perhaps the only adequate judge in this case will be practice, theory, and enthusiasm, all united in the same person.

*Natural
Corruption*

The grand error of our hacknied lawyers, ignorant Tories, aristocrats, &c. seems to be that of considering man as atrociously and irrecoverably wicked, and eternally chained to his present mountain of vice; though so obviously made for a *progress*, both the individual and the species, as makes it impossible to keep him stationary by all the arts of despotism.

In time, men will divide more by *opinions* than nations. Europe seems already inclined to throw and declare themselves into 2 classes;—the rich and the poor, the proprietor and non-proprietor classes. But on both sides passion seems yet to predominate, and to overpower the voice of *reason*, who must wait and watch with some patience—and she will yet lead them all home.

The barbarities of the emancipated *canailles* of despotism may for some time blacken the page of our history, and disgrace this 18th century; and shew us, at last, how far it was yet from truth and civilization;—tho' it may perhaps be allowed the merit of having laid some good foundations for the fabrics of the 19th;—and of having given such a velocity to the progress of *mind* as cannot be stopped.

As yet, most *writers* are confuted by their successors. The human powers are thus wasted on error and detestation: they will be better employed as errors shall diminish. If only part of our new ideas can be retained, there must be an accumulation of them, and thence a progress; and knowledge certainly disposes us more to virtue than vice: so that both our rational and moral faculties must be progressive; and this may be accelerated by simplification, &c.—and by improving the human capacity and modes of teaching, and by the press (when free) and by conversation and discussion, in small parties, as we drill recruits;—thence other modes of improvement will be suggested.—So that the human mind and species may yet advance by various means, in spite of its present load of various tyrannies.

When the world shall have forgotten their natural indignation at the fate of poor Louis XVI. and recover their temper, they will then probably investigate and discover the causes of such enormities, in the great and unnecessary *inequalities* admitted among beings all originally equal. However necessary a superstitious respect for religion and monarchy might be in the beginning of society, there is certainly a time for its termination; and if not carefully kept down, the fatal consequences seem inevitable; and so lead us beyond the power of human wisdom to return by the smooth road of reform, back to a natural state of society, without some violence:—and yet *human reason* seems capable of such operation, if sufficiently encouraged to investigate and try.—All attempts to stifle the now-growing sentiments of reform, is the demonstrable

monstrable tho' incurable folly of *aristocracy*; while all the efforts to reform him *by force* is the mistake or temporary madness of *democracy*. Shall we not hope that both may see their error, and meet in the land of peace and truth, where statesmen and philosophers may consult and assist each other? Let us hope that even *despotism* will not always be deaf to all reason and reconciliation.

Do the present French anarchists, or violent party, *s'affichent pour se vendre au despotisme*? And did some courts bribe and promote the death of Louis Seize? And will they yet try to lead the people to extremes, in hopes of defeating the cause of freedom and republicanism?

These are things which can never probably be ascertained; so deficient must history generally be.

Posterity will surely be amazed, that mankind should so long bear with this beastly mode of *society*—this selfish, barbarous scramble—as animals tearing their food almost from each other's mouths—with all the accumulating results of growing evils; of insufferable inequalities; of vice, ignorance, &c.!!

The contrivance of *money*, by way of tickets or counters, to regulate the unregulable confusion of the scramble, was but a futile remedy; facilitating and increasing some of the evil consequences; as accumulation, and thence avarice, ambition, and all the most pernicious selfish passions; while it serves only for an apparent remedy to other evils—as to the preventing confusion, and removing some of the impediments to commerce, (which have hitherto brought us, perhaps, more evil than good.) It may surely be hoped that men will now soon sicken of the whole system, with all its savage, selfish inequalities in powers, ranks, and riches, as they shall begin to perceive truth at a distance, and the various silly modes that have been invented in vain, to give to this our state of real warfare an *appearance* of peace. Each engrossed by its little self:—the greatest number literally working for life, like the Dutch idea of setting people to pump to avoid drowning.

What wretched contrivances, and to be miscalled by the name of *society*! Not yet to have secured some easier and more certain mode of providing the mere *necessary* for its members, than by such a waste of powers and needless misery! —

We could almost hope that a herd of monkies might in time make a mock of such a want of invention and virtue. The bears, bees, ants, birds, and beavers, have more unanimity in their social operations:—yet the mind of man is obviously capable of far greater moral progress—of virtue, union, &c. Though this author and many others may not have reached the goal, they assist in approaching it. When our time and powers come to be better employed, the perfectability of the human mind will more evidently appear.

A distant view of the road before us may have some influence on our present march. We may become less attached to old errors and opinions, on foreseeing those that are coming—as those on *justice, superstition, property, &c.* which are certainly changing so fast, as visibly to relax the zeal, even of old defenders. The tremendous combination here of all the aristocracies will, probably, be only a blaze of straw, and be soon considered but as the dying efforts of ancient error.—Though the aristocracy of rank and property, &c. together, is probably too far gone, and too deep-rooted here, to be soon removed without violence; and its means of corruption too powerful over its present miserable race of dependants; yet wisdom, truth, or virtue, (synonymous) by keeping the system and its errors constantly in her view, and repeatedly presenting them in their different shapes, effects, and consequences, to that of the public, some impression, and even great effects may—nay, must be produced.—And she will probably soon learn to brave the puny arms and menaces of death and despotism, and the ignorant tyranny of a M—r, &c.

Our European *ranks* are nearly, perhaps, as pernicious in their ultimate effects, as the different *castes* in Asia; spoiling both those who are the most, and those who are the least esteemed; the one by pride and luxury, and the other by debasement and poverty of means and mind, both being fertile sources of all the selfish, and the most unsocial and destructive passions.

It is thought by some, that the high pretensions of *aristocracy*, or system of unjust inequalities, may make the strongest and longest stand in this island, because of its situation, and its inhabitants being so thoroughly spoiled by riches, and in the full strength of that species of intoxication; this, however, cannot be lasting.—As men are already beginning visibly to divide more by opinions than by nations, (which was, perhaps, a very bad division, and a principal source of wars, enmity, and destruction) and seem now tending towards a division into the two grand classes, not badly named *Aristocrats* and *Democrats*; i. e. the rich, masters, employers, oppressors, all on one side; and the poor, dependent, employed, and oppressed, all on the other;—the proprietors and non-proprietors; the rulers and ruled. The first endeavouring to preserve things as they are, (i. e. always growing worse, and by force, which is their strange mistake) and the other for justice and equality, reform and improvement,—perhaps with too great haste. This second class, with all their ignorance and violence, must naturally gain the ascendancy, as they must increase in proportion to the vices of the opponent system, and accumulation of property into fewer hands: but they will not be masters, it is hoped, before they are more nearly fit for it, and then such distinctions as these will nearly or gradually cease.—But in this contention, between these two classes, all the mischief has generally been, and much may yet for some time be, done. The people have hitherto failed, commonly, from the

vices

aristocracy &
Rome
described

vices and ignorance, inevitably acquired during their slavery, before they could completely re-establish *justice and equality*.

We shall now see if the French can succeed under nearly the same disadvantages, only with more knowledge: and there seems to be such powers, virtues, or energy in the very idea or form of a *republic*, once properly organized, as to succeed inevitably—to inspire its defenders to do greater things with smaller means than any other form; and to work wonders, even with less morality of character; but which, however, is also soon brought up, beyond any other, fit for the task and situation: then, the effects of justice, truth, reason, freedom, equality, printing, &c. may so accelerate the human progress, that great caution and wisdom may become necessary, and will therefore be generated, to regulate the advance of all things abreast, and avoid precipitation. So many important truths and systems will now begin to appear, that there can hardly be a sufficient number of minds fit to estimate and judge of them, till farther experience and maturity,—but which may soon be furnished in this active period, and the political horizon soon clear up from the confusion of anarchy, which can never last long.—When the public wisdom (not authority) shall rise and approach to what it ought to be, simple indication, instruction, direction by the press may suffice; every thing will be left open to improvement; the private and aggregate judgement will have all their due effects upon the few things that will then concern the whole. The objects or questions will not then be such as to tear and destroy reason by passion and powerful interests. Majorities will not have motive or desire to be unjust or severe with their minorities, nor even with the transgressors, who will therefore also daily diminish.

These old aristocracies and combinations seem to have just sense enough left to see their danger, but not enough to evade it;—nor any idea of directing the necessary stream of innovation, which they ignorantly think of shutting up, long after it has almost all escaped. The art of printing, which we have not yet learned to esteem nor to use as we ought, is however the grand machine which has prepared the materials for future innovation;—materials which despotism of different kinds has hitherto contrived to keep almost out of sight, but which it is become impracticable to destroy, or even to conceal or disfigure much longer.—And even the how long may soon be calculable by young wisdom, who has been growing up amidst the families of tyranny and ignorance.—These are becoming so blind and desperate, on perceiving, through a mist of error, a host of magnified and disfigured enemies, that their own alarms create the real danger of hurrying on the very innovations they are so awkwardly trying to avoid, and provoking the people to resume their sovereignty perhaps too soon.

Indeed such combinations as the present, here, might be dangerous, if things could possibly remain in the state of permanence

nence which they ignorantly suppose: happily this is becoming daily more impossible. All governments, law, property, &c. will now continue to be examined, till just ideas and the necessary changes are produced.

When government can be so constructed and made wise enough to determine to enlighten the people, it will soon be done. May we never expect to produce one modern monarch or minister wise and great enough to try the experiment?—or will they ever go on to provoke reform and revolution from below, with all its attendant ignorance and cruelty? How to join book and worldly wisdom, theory and practice, seems still the old secret and complaint.—It must come with justice and equality. The practitioners are, probably, the most to blame for this separation. 1. The rich, 2. the poor, and 3. the intermediate, are now nearly all spoilt or fast spoiling, by this pernicious system of unlimited inequalities and accumulations, except only a portion of 3, on whom the chief hopes of recovery depend;—on their recovering and raising the lower classes up to themselves.

Of the *right* of sovereignty of a whole people, there can be no doubt. The wisdom of *expediency*, as to the how,—and the when, the systems, &c. must probably come from the observers and thinkers; but must be the same as if it came from the whole, when *well-informed*; a state which they will gradually approach as justice and equality shall prevail. A state whose approach the aristocracy confusedly foresees, with all the foolish dread of ignorance, which magnifies and mistakes the danger, and thence converts it from ideal into real. In their agitation they face the wrong way, discover their weakness, and needlessly increase and provoke enemies with the very exertions by which they exhaust and defeat themselves;—but, indeed, few or none seem now to know how to estimate, guide, or avert what is coming.

Real *justice* (with humanity, and not the vulgar kind with severity) is now the object,—the science to be taught to all people. As yet, it is to be feared that most of our European mobs, or lower classes, are nearly as cruel and savage as those of France; such are the fruits of previous despotism and injustice: our's have shewn themselves to be nearly as bad, on several late and shameful occasions. The aristocracy want them to remain so, and the philosophers, to raise them to equality with themselves; which would not be so difficult, nor so very far above what they now are, as our vanity may suggest.—The republican spirit must probably spread with knowledge: its tendency to justice and equality being congenial to the human mind. The great and oppressive inequalities will gradually disappear with ignorance. A common education, even common arithmetic, brings us 10 times nearer to equality and to Newton. The representative kinds of republics seem capable of yet unknown results and improvements;—of all the good, as the chosen wisdom, &c. of aristocracy;

tocracy; and without its defects, as ambition, slavery,—of progress, and renovation, &c.

In the most despotic southern parts of Europe, the aristocracy, or upper ranks, are already sunk far beneath utility, and become an oppressive burden on society.—By what steps and degrees the necessary changes are to be introduced,—the superfluous inequalities reduced to the needful, are important questions, which may now be treated with coolness, freedom, and effect;—if we can be wise enough to preserve or soon recover peace. The principles of Athens and Sparta (now America and France) must pervade the rest of Greece (now the world) gradually, as the means of communication increase and improve.

If force must yet sometimes be employed, and we are obliged to estimate and put up with certain degrees of evil, before we can attain positive good; to be conquered by a free and liberal nation may be desirable, as somebody has observed of Spain and Barbary, which were bettered even by Roman conquest. Monarchy and aristocracy may tremble at such events, but not democracy: the people may rejoice. And perhaps 'tis only in this way that war may cease at last,—and probably sea-war first. Wisdom may always evade the event, even of such war, by joining with such free nation, and so making a friend of an enemy.—The want of wisdom at Pilnitz, &c. will not justify the folly of others.—The interest of humanity must be *peace*: then open all the presses, and let the hardest heads fend off:—but off hands, and fair play;—deliberation and discussion, but no action:—government must keep the peace, but not gag us. As nothing said or written can hurt, where there is liberty to answer, hence most of the laws about libels or treasons should first be repealed and banished from society.

The right ideas of *property* being of such great importance, and require so much thought and discussion; and being probably capable of 10 times its present produce of convenience and happiness to mankind at large, is it not high time to begin the subject?—and to discover the modes of administration that would produce even twice the present advantages? If the joint efforts of both private and public spirit promise more effects than either, alone, is not the best manner of exciting and exerting these, of the utmost consequence, and a proper problem for philosophers to solve? When luxury can be made disgraceful, and wealth produce fewer advantages than virtue, may not the uses and desires of accumulation diminish? and thence some wise regulations be produced from such dispositions?

Waiting for these just or right ideas on *property*, all other improvements seem to stand still, or the attempts to prove abortive. Let us try to enforce and dwell upon a truth of such importance, viz. that all the members of a society or nation have a right to their share in all the property of it, private or public, (i. e.) up to the supply of their natural wants, physical and mental,

tal,—(the latter gradually gaining on and supplanting the former, as we improve) and the present proprietors are even now only the administrators for the rest.

Two questions thence arise; but not so difficult to solve as may appear. 1st, What are our natural wants? and, 2dly, How dispose of the overplus? On the principles of justice, as they come to be studied and understood, these questions will be easily answered: the wants of all will be easily and amply supplied; and the surplus will be gradually increased and better disposed of, 1st, by advice of the public wisdom; and then gradually by the private or individual wisdom, as it becomes fit to supply the other's place, and to walk alone. This important subject will soon invite other thinkers.

Must the French ever be hated, and thence murdered or banished by the people of every country they invade? or may we not hope they will change, with their government, into a cool, rational, and republican character? Perhaps they will not then so wantonly offend whole nations, and may at length employ reason and patience, instead of force and impertinence. Much may be done by names, as the facetious Sterne observes;—by preserving the favourite and changing the hateful names. Abolish those of King, Emperor, and retain those of President, Joyouscintree, &c. The world must first *see* the superior justice and liberal conduct of republicanism before they will be converted, or reconciled to it: peace and printing were therefore the only arms they should have employed to establish it.—Let us hope they will not irrevocably disgrace and defeat it, in Europe, before a fair trial and examination.—The French must first learn to be just and generous, even to their enemies and emigrants; and must convince the world they are neither to be intimidated by a Parisian mob, nor to be provoked by fancied insults,—nor instigated by mean passions,—by selfish or mercenary views,—by vulgar vanity, or vengeance, &c. otherwise people will wish to remain in, or return to despotism.

But a feminine or childish vanity (yet the ruling passion of France) was probably among the motives for killing their king, like the English. Neither daring, nor fear, nor avarice, nor any passion, only reason, ought ever to be motives with legislators or judges.—If they go on as a *faction*, it will be discoverable by several symptoms;—as by their modes of securing their power,—by cruelties to please the mob,—by severity instead of humanity to opponent parties,—by their keeping up wars and their armies at a distance, or:—but then the time must come, to wish for a return of old tyranny, or of any thing that can give hopes of quiet or safety: and they will thus have restored royalty as effectually as we did, by the death of Charles I.—But as things never happen twice the same way, in this progressive state of the world, let us hope they have not entirely murdered the spirit of justice,

with

with that of humanity,—the virtue, or rather system of virtues, which is destined to save mankind.

And why should we not be either representatives or messengers of the people, as occasions require? The less we do for them, and the more they do for themselves, the better. All delegated power should be a *minimum*, or the least possible: and in cases of doubt, they should send for fresh instructions, when practicable, and not decide, as usual, in their own favour.—But how different yet the *tongues* and *conduct* of the French! The silly vanity of talking, or making a figure in print, seems often their only object; and the still worse vanity of murdering a poor monarch, like us, may have also still worse effects: they generally declaim, but seldom reason;—are still more defective in judgement than in genius. Let us hope the next generation may be better.

Few, indeed, seem yet to know what or how much man is capable of doing. We see the French did not know themselves what they could do, till they tried.—We know but little yet, in moral causation; nor how to produce any given character, or great and distant event, through any considerable chain of causes.

If the French had not turned the tide, perhaps, against them, by murdering their King, &c. we should now have seen happen what all our great modern generals have been prophesying, viz. that the first people inspired with liberty, or any great enthusiasm, and thence determined to rush in, properly armed, through all the fire that can be formed, would infallibly succeed, and carry all before them, and go through any or all the disciplined armies of Europe: and once these are what is called broken, we know they are good for nothing, and would presently be cut to pieces by such troops as the French were becoming last year: no mercenaries would have stood before them.

With a choice of *farce*, or of *reason*, to accomplish an end, how persuade men to prefer the last, and as yet least secure?—the slowest and hitherto most uncertain mode?—though evident that reason may in time be the best and only certain way of prevailing with rational man, how shall we be able to repeat so many unsuccessful trials, till we at length succeed? Perhaps there can be no rule. The cases will all be particular. Reason and reasoning will in general always prevail, if properly employ'd; but how to employ it in every case, requires great knowledge; and that knowledge will be gradually generated as wanted and employed.

If Godwin's book should be worth 10 of Paley's, (which is probable) and yet not sell nor be read equal $\frac{1}{10}$ of it; will 1:20 or 1:100 express the ratio of our present public opinion,—to what it ought to be?

How came the people of this country so little ashamed as to show their nakedness, and so ignorant as to glory in their infamy?

Reason

—to fill their news-papers with declarations of their stupidity, and send them abroad to proclaim their disgrace? All the modes of governing by force or fear, being a sort of confession of deficiency of reason, are usually concealed by some artifice; but so open a declaration of governing by force, and joined—supported by the governed in chafing, showing—boasting of their chains, as we now see here, (if true) is perhaps singular in history.

—Happily the lower classes, who have read P., must probably have more spirit, sense, and judgement, than their rich and associating superiors. From the great corruption and deficiency of the upper classes of Europe, reform must probably come from below, as in America. *Justice* and *equality* will probably soon be seen and considered as the chief object of man and society; but a little instruction and organization should previously prepare the general mind for their various duties. It should be generally known, even to the people, if practicable, that their true interest and the only two modes or means of obtaining all they want, is, 1, by improving their representation, and, 2, by joining their natural allies, now France and America, and thence extending peace and good government round the world:—that their present, badly constructed government is led by some insidious or ignorant advice, towards the precipice of despotism and destruction.—But how far inferior they are to their duties here, may be gathered from their majorities on most important subjects of late, where truth and right have generally been found in the minority.—Out of so many hundred picked legislators, so few for truth and wisdom, even here, or in France! What a hopeless state!—and all mad for war!—flying to force, like children or savages, where reason would be obviously better and more effectual!

What can have spoiled and debased so many millions of men beneath humanity? Is it riches and inequalities?—Observe our majorities on the late and present questions, 1, of liberty, reform, war with France: 2, on almost all our India affairs; 3, on the late riots at Birmingham, &c.; 4, repeatedly on the slave trade; 5, in the year 1780; 6, on the American war, &c. &c. all decidedly wrong:—poor truth and right ever in the minority, where every good and honest man will generally chuse to be found here. Are not the causes of these things worthy investigation? We seemed a little inclined to that inquiry in 1780; but were presently misled by the coarse artifice of government turning a foolish lord among us, who led to such excesses, as soon sickened us of all reform: probably many such tricks may yet be played off upon us with success:—as a Capt. Fall, whom government used to employ, to mislead mobs for them, &c. and a B——, jun. to mislead the Irish Catholics last year, (—but which may not be so easy this year.) However, the people might have been a little instructed and directed in 1780,—but no instructor of sufficient magnitude appeared.

And

And now, if J. B. does not suffer himself to be humbug'd into believe his small beer to be Burgundy, it may answer the purposes of both, till he is better prepared, his mind opened and instructed, to see what it really is; by time, and new teachers who are now forming in greater plenty.—It may now be possible to open his eyes before he is quite blinded by the dust of despotism and sophistry: but, perhaps, he is not now so blind as he may chuse to appear, to the *powers that be*, who had, therefore, better beware of his eye, &c.

But it seems almost impossible to instruct a perverse, selfish, and corrupted people, or make them draw long together on the right side; where all are employed in pulling each other down;—where truth and virtue are the most opposed and calumniated:—*N'importe*; let us repeat till we prevail;—though the general mind seems now far below—even their own sentiments of last century, and perhaps still equally ignorant and superstitious:—though they seem now completely scared, and intimidated, and astonished to find themselves governed by force and fraud, perhaps ever since the return of royalty with Charles II. which established a form, and such a form:—but they may yet pluck up courage to change it, when they shall, 1st, have well studied the subject, 2, shall have found a better form, and, 3, shall have clearly convinced a majority;—and not before; indeed there is no great fear of precipitancy in this nation or people: 'tis equally shameful in their rulers, either to make an advantage of that pretext of precipitancy, or ignorantly believe it.

The present pretended, or foolish but oppressive dread of sedition, even of writing or speaking, must proceed either from barbarous ignorance, or the timidity of conscious guilt and usurpation, or from despotic combinations of some kind. Those who can should explain it truly and satisfactorily to the public, and warn them of their real danger, which is probably from the encroachments of *government*, much more than of the *governed*. The combinations of *proprietors* (in fact a contemptible minority) against the non-*proprietors* (now a great, respectable, and growing majority) have long been the oppressive law-makers for the whole: they now, with a daring ignorance, throw off all disguise, and openly (though needlessly) declare war against all freedom,—even that of writing, speaking, and thence of thinking. —in short, against the sacred liberty of the press and of the mind. —*Nous sommes les vrais sauvages de l'Europe*. If their government have dictated to them these their declarations, and professions of slavish doctrines, which they are not ashamed to send abroad into the world, such a government must be very ignorant indeed, and must provoke certain resentments and principles which will be treasured up to break out at the most unreasonable periods.

While they ignorantly talk of *suppressing* instead of answering writings, and thereby insult the understandings of the people ;—while they gag and tie their opponents, and then answer and fight them ;—they will only hasten changes or attempts,—perhaps before their proper time,—which is when the people are convinced by reason—not force. Hence to liberate entirely the press, and leave the human mind to work out its own salvation, must ever be the text, or burden of our song.

Why not *coalitions*—of parties, &c. on right principles, viz. for the public good ? The spirit of party—or, corporation spirit—the various combinations of men against the public and each other, should be more studied, and thence remedied.

We must probably be content to remain long in some of the stages or steps of the human progression, far short of perfection ;—hence those steps should be studied, as that of *representation* ;—but carefully keeping open the ways before us, and shutting up those behind. *Impatience* in advancing too fast, will only throw us farther back :—though this is not the usual fault of man, nor *that* most to be dreaded here ; but the contrary, a disposition to remain tied to habit and custom, and a dread of advancing or innovation, has hitherto done him more harm, perhaps, than all his other vices and defects.

Only ignorant generals fight battles, and only ignorant ministers go to *war*, which is a source of most of our evils, and a remedy for nothing. Men may always be more successfully treated as rational than as animals ; and we have no right to use force in any case, till all the rational and the most humane modes have been tried ; then we remove impediments, &c. When or at what point resistance becomes aggression, is of importance to know, and which our author has tried to define. The object is,—never to punish the past, but to prevent future injury, which can only be done through the mind, by reason and conviction ; not by punishment.

By *war*, we are now probably blindly bringing on the very reforms, and perhaps the revolutions, we are wishing to avoid. By needless severities, we irritate, create, concentrate, and fortify that very spirit which we wish to abolish. The ignorance and tyranny so foolishly confessed—declared in our various declarations, create certain kinds of shame and curiosity, resentment and obstinacy, which happily and powerfully provoke and promote the very cause of discussion and reform, which is so much dreaded.

To throw out many important truths,—hints and ideas, accessible and intelligible to all, must be of service,—is much wanted, and not yet near sufficiently pursued, with all our periodical papers :—is equally necessary with the great book or elaborate treatise. Besides, it is a justice due to the people ;—at once a sowing the seeds of genius, and weeding for it in the crowd, which is
a fallow

a fallow that has never yet produced $\frac{1}{10}$ its crop.—The people are capable of more than our pride imagines: their sagacity—even in moral and political subjects, shews what a little proper instruction might add, especially with their posterity.—The progress of knowledge, already considerable, will not then be resistible by any the most artful combinations, and certainly not by force,—by bayonets or bastilles.—We had better promote and prepare for that period, than attempt in vain to oppose it.

A certain, perhaps small, number of wise and just men, such as a G—— and a N——, a F——, a S——, &c. may gradually inform, reform, and lead the world, by means of *truth*, a machine or weapon which few have yet known how to use or wield.—When once a majority perceives that truth must prevail, the work is done.

You saw the tear of benevolence start in T——'s eye, at the mention of the method of treating our enemies. All men are capable of moral feelings, and thence of moral habits and progress, as with our snuff, &c.—The previous practice in strong feelings, though often wrong, may form perhaps a better moral character, and fitter for most important purposes, than a life of apathy and learning; he may thence go farther, when right;—but all is necessary;—reading, feeling, practice.

We should watch the new scenes and steps of human nature and society as they rise, and join to direct but not oppose the stream. Almighty truth will lead the way, and soon or finally defeat all treachery, combination, despotism, through all their varied forms, even before they shall have half worn out their stock of arts and tricks on which they so foolishly depend.—Even learned and artful sophistry cannot always hold its majority, and leave the few wise silently to despair of the prevalence of *truth*, and at times to doubt of her being made for man, who seems so long to prefer falsehood; and though not as such, yet seeming unwilling to be undeceived: but she must gradually advance, and at last prevail.

Man is not probably yet sufficiently known to himself, to decide what he is capable of: but improving science or theory will probably now go on to surprize the foolish world with many things hitherto thought impracticable: and from vulgar surprize they will be gradually led into real knowledge, in spite of the arts of priests, princes, &c. to blind them.—It is of great importance to men, the pointing out to them the various modes and roads of their possible advancement; and 'tis hoped we shall soon have philosophers and objects enough to make them look up sometimes, and cast an eye before, to see where they are going,—and may and must go.—Theory is only the result of practice pursued till methodized into general principles. Hence every kind of practice or knowledge becomes theory in time. The long and unnatural separation of theory and practice is another of the astonishing follies and misfortunes hitherto attending modern men or society,

ciety, where almost all things are separated which ought to be joined, and v. v.—In our selfish state or system, the human powers or talents can never be brought up equal to the wants of society; and any accidental surplus or stock of them must soon starve and die off.—But it is the moral destruction, or impediments to *mental* improvement, which is probably among the worst of the numerous evils of this state of the world, where the separate individual interest impedes every beneficial progress; being chiefly employed in supporting self, and impeding others,—in deceiving, tearing, or feeding upon, one another.

So that, in surveying the various views and forms of poor human nature or society, no wonder men are often found inconsistent and paradoxical, as Rousseau, &c.—On seeing only popular error, ignorance, and fury, in some places; and in others, stupid, cruel, and barbarous despotism;—one or other every where prevailing over the small portion of tranquil wisdom, yet timid and uncertain; we are led to doubt if the *people* can ever be made wise; or if they are always to be led,—to destroy each other,—and even their benefactors;—their Pythagorasses, Socrateses, De Witts, Paines, &c. &c.—On considering all this—with their perpetual wars and massacres!—is there yet a heart so cruel as to refuse them instruction, or the means to raise them to a moral equality with the best of us? And thence the only means of advancing (together) towards moral perfection; where it will be impracticable to produce war and massacre, as now to prevent or appease them.

To make *peace*, as it should be made, is far beyond the art of making war; and that man will be esteemed and desired beyond all the generals and conquerors of the world, who shall first be able to persuade two opposing armies to join, shake hands, and be friends and happy together, in spite of their commanders: and after this has once or twice happened, it will perhaps be impossible to bring men again to that degree of folly to fight and kill each other. This great art of peace-making (yet so far behind that of war) should, and probably will, now be more effectually studied. The essentials, or 1st principles, might perhaps be reduced to 2 classes; the 1st, consisting of every thing that tends to remove all obstacles to the communication of mankind, for the mutual supply of their physical, and, still more, their mental wants; thence will be gradually abolished all frontiers, fortifications, custom-houses, armies, treaties:—and 2d, of all that tends to persuade men to assist, and not to hate and oppose each other; each to work for the whole, as our author proposes.

Translators, arrangers, abridgers of knowledge, should be encouraged, and perhaps formed into some temporary school or establishment, by help of the public money. As men and nations are brought to understand each other, all will rise up towards the wisest; and then science, peace, truth, are all approaching or established.

blished. The perfecting of language, both in simplicity and copiousness, may be an essential part of the system of peace.

Thus the settling or pacifying the world may also now soon be practically a great and important object. The grand bone of contention will probably be the Austrian Netherlands, which we may again want to settle on our usual principles of selfish mercantile injustice: but let us hope we shall be more liberal and wise; or at least our next heirs. These 17 provinces, as of old, and as many more as can be gained, should all be laid open to each other, and might form a federacy like America, with a common legislature, or congress, at Aix.—Or of all the countries which communicate with that great unity of inland navigation, the 3 rivers Scheldt, Maïse, and Rhine, which unite so singularly at their mouths; and thence form but one object, which should never be cut to pieces, as has generally and cruelly been done hitherto; and thence the parts cut off of course decayed. Our foolish little mercantile fears and jealousies of such a power, and of the Scheldt, 'tis hoped, will be cured when ignorant ministers cease to consult selfish, ignorant merchants, and when others can be found, equal to their duty.

We may conceive or anticipate the following dialogue, in which the *French* say to us, — We will settle all these provinces, &c. in the most liberal way you can wish; and pray, let us introduce the principle of consulting the people themselves, of every the smallest country, how they chuse to be settled; only we cannot admit of their going back to Austria, as, we fear, you propose. *English Tory Government.*—We do; and you must recal your armies, and give up all your conquests, before we can begin to treat. F. That was never done in such circumstances, and cannot yet be expected; though such times may come, if we succeed, and can establish universal justice, the true foundation of peace and happiness. We mean to keep no conquests, but to set all free to their own choice; and you want to keep them bound as they were. E. Certainly, besides what security can you give now, that you will leave them free at the proper time?—and that such freedom may even then be of use to us, after having poisoned them with your new ideas of government? F. Which are those of freedom, and which, it is plain, you do not like now, though you used to like, and profess to protect and promote freedom. But is there now no possible point of compromise between us, where we might meet, by each giving way, and approaching the other a little? Tell us what you wish, and, if possible, it shall be done. E. No, we won't, nor tell you of any such point, for fear you should agree to it, and we lose the opportunity of beating you, now that we think you are down, and many enemies upon you; and that we can persuade our people that nothing else can stop your career; or can make them pay money at once, to beat you and enslave themselves, and save us

from your (really to all of us usurpers) very dangerous opinions. F. Your toryism and its tyranny is, to be sure, become notorious enough, even without your insolently declaring it; and the world are astonished at the patience and servility of Englishmen in bearing it. It may, however, have better effects than you intend, in making people think till all see the necessity of reform, and then it may be done quietly. It was thought the American war had discredited your toryism for a century to come; and behold you re-submit your necks to it, in a 12 month after the villany and disgrace of that unmerciful attempt to plant universal despotism.—If men could be rendered frank enough, like you now, to own the villany of their motives and intentions, the world would soon improve, even in spite of such villany, such is the power of sincerity: but let us hope you will now change with us: 'tis too late to maintain the doctrine of deception and despotism, as you cannot now long persuade the people to support you in it: and better give up a part of your power, with a good grace, to save the rest, than risk losing all. Let us be friends, and both return to our common parent, Justice; for only misfortunes have attended us ever since we left her. Let us restore these provinces to their free choice of government and alliance; only recommending to them some republican form, as the only forms capable of justice. Moderation, gradation, limited monarchies, might have answered better for the present race of men; and as steps for advancing by proper, temperate, and slow degrees: but your opposition to all reform or improvement;—to part with any thing,—to all—the most reasonable limitations of power and influence, inevitably brings on the contest, and decision *by force*, which, though ever inadequate, may now improve a little, with every thing else; and may decide more justly as men become better informed; and majorities may at last be on the right side; as, in a state of ignorance, they must perhaps be generally in the wrong.—It seems astonishing that English sagacity does not perceive that the tendency of this war must be towards revolutions, which may thence be hurried, premature, destructive, before the people are prepared for them,—and must be all loss and no gain.—In short, it cannot now be seen to what kinds or proportions of good and evil it may lead.—Happily some good seems to result from almost every evil.—Though national antipathies may now be barbarously revived, the fighting may cease early, from poverty, &c. and the antipathy remaining to subside gradually, may prevent the renewal of treaties, those pests of the world; and mankind may thence gradually solve into a natural state of freedom and society.—The necessity of your now granting some justice to the Irish Catholics, may give them such power as to make their Protestants and all wish for an union of the two islands; which may be a good thing, provided you make haste to learn the true principles of government,

ment, peace and union, from us, and from your own philosophers, which your Whigs may be partly capable of doing, but not your Tories, who are incorrigible aristocrats: luckily the Whigs must probably come in, to make the peace, and the best of your ignorant and barbarous tory-war; as with America; and having perhaps learnt more wisdom, may make a better use of their power than on that occasion.—If in some situations we see men can act nobly, virtuously, should not we then endeavour to revive, multiply, and continue those situations, till virtue becomes habitual and pleasant, and is discovered to be the same with wisdom and happiness? And surely peace must furnish such occasions and situations, more than war.—Our principles of universal peace, justice, and equality must be favourable to you and to all men. We cannot easily comprehend whence you have lately taken up this dread of republicanism,—which is confessedly the best kind of government in all history. Why are you all so suddenly biassed, enslaved by aristocracy? How have they and the crown smitten or electrified your people, and each other? Are they all their poor dependants?—As in case of contest, you cannot probably expect so many recruits or converts as we, from above; and the American example, of all reform coming from below, may not suit so well with any of us; let us wisely endeavour to restore peace, to mitigate popular furies and antipathies, and guide and introduce reform more gradually. *English Whig Government.*—We must first improve the reason of men, and reform will follow of course. This will be easiest and best done by beginning with the thinking few, and by degrees extending from thence down through all ranks and classes of understanding. Your justice and equality, and their great effects, may then appear,—perhaps by the next generation, and all may soon thus be morally raised above the present wisest and best of us. You Frenchmen are always in a violent hurry. However, we are glad to hear you even talk of peace and quietness. If you could but stand or sit still, till we can discuss this matter a little, we might perhaps hit upon some mode of pleasing and including almost all parties. Here, you see, we have made a change in our ministry, on purpose for peace, and we hope we shall not now long disagree.—F. Oh, we make no doubt of it, and rejoice to see you Whigs, whom we already consider as natural friends, to us and to our principles. Let us now set about giving peace and happiness to all mankind.—As you have none of that unhappy aversion to republicans and levellers, (i. e.) to justice and equality, now become our motto,—we may venture to dwell upon that species of government, towards which all others should tend, and by such tendency their merits be measured: and all impediments to such tendency ought to be removed (by force if absolutely necessary) on the same principle as we resist oppression, or an invading enemy.

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E. Fair

E. Fair and softly, if you please. To know when resistance becomes oppression in its turn, is material. It is to be feared you will yet, for some time, fancy you have a right to inflict punishment in addition to a successful resistance, and to pursue your enemy beyond the bounds of justice and humanity,—into regions and principles where society can never approach perfection.—On a more intimate acquaintance and discussion, we shall soon perceive there can be no such right, and may soon after agree and conform to these and other important principles in this science of man and society, which is yet so new to both or all of us.—We may now together go on to indulge in contemplating and promoting future moral improvements. Wisdom may yet for a time come mostly from above, but gradually more from below, till the distinction of above and below shall vanish. The wise and good will always lead, but only so far as necessary, and they will be known by teaching the people to go alone,—like Lycurgus,

F. Esto perpetuo,—we rejoice to hear such doctrine, and especially from those we so highly esteem. Such people as the French and English, by a free communication of minds, may greatly improve each other, and the whole world. Your cool and thoughtful sagacity will help to correct our over-boiling vivacity: we may perhaps furnish you with ideas to improve upon. Keep but the door open between us, in spite of all the sophistry of K—s, or their M—rs, or any combination of ignorant, tyrannical, or separate interests, and we shall inevitably lead on to all the successive degrees of improvement and happiness.—You will now certainly adopt some of our principles, and probably improve upon them, as usual.—For example, you will gradually teach the people to do more for themselves, and to delegate or trust as little as possible to their government: and that of making war or peace, they should never part with, nor delegate entirely to any others, if possible.—There is certainly some truth in what P—— has told you, and which is much worth your attention, though he tells it in a bad and angry manner. Your constitution, if it were good for any thing, has clearly now lost its virtue and energy. Your M——r leads the nation as he pleases by corruption, and your legislature, it is feared, cannot now reform itself.

E. Yes, it can, must, and will, soon. When abuses come to a certain height, they will force a reform; and a lesser quantity of abuse will force a greater reformation now than formerly: though it required above $\frac{1}{2}$ century of royal oppression of the Stewarts to create a spirit of reform sufficient to resist, much less would now produce such effects;—and have indeed already begun to produce it; for here we are, you see, come in, on purpose and under a promise of reform, which we must and mean to keep; and shall probably soon have some periodical and surer method

thod of repairing and improving our constitution : and we may gradually come nearly to meet you in your favourite doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. We shall only arrive there by a different road, and slower degrees, and when the people shall, we hope, be fitter for it.

F. We now rejoice to hear, and contemplate these pleasing themes with you Whigs, of whom we had always better opinion than of your vile tyrannical Tories, and some hopes that you might, one day, make tolerable democrats or republicans ;—if you do not entirely forget the principles you possessed at your last revolution,—of cashiering and electing your own k—s or magistrates, and renewing your government and constitution, whenever found necessary. And now that you find, from repeated experience, what k—s and c—ts really are,—how incorrigible, &c. we may hope you will not be long nor far behind us : and that you'll gradually get rid of your nobles, a wretched institution, productive only of oppression, vice, and corruption of all kinds.—Then eternal peace and amity may be established among men. We can surely together insure it, and enlighten mankind.—All America, then Africa, and Asia by degrees, will thence be civilized, instructed, improved.

E. Softly, pray.—You Frenchmen are always in such haste. If you would not hurry us, we would follow by degrees in our own way. K—s and nobles may perhaps drop off in time ; but they do well enough for such people as we are yet :—especially as we now shall chain them up or down, on Solon's idea, pretty closely ; and if they break loose, and do mischief, we shall now prepare means of getting rid of them, presently, in that case.

F. We too were in danger, you see, from combinations. The most active and violent, and unfortunately the most ignorant, are the readiest to seize the helm on these occasions. Our Jacobinism did its duty, and should then have dissolved into society. Perhaps Marratism, mobism, in different forms of vulgar violence, may yet be revived on various pretexts ; or be fomented by foreign courts, those pests of human society ;—till the proper forms—and the public mind can be enlightened, and settled into calm wisdom and truth.

E. Calm, you must not expect : nay, you must be prepared for eternal agitation, if you wish and determine for freedom : and some degree of agitation is probably much better for man, than any of the forms producing eternal quiet and stagnant tranquillity, which breeds ignorance, indolence, &c. So that the only difficulty will be in chusing the proper degree of agitation necessary for man.—The unlimited advances in knowledge, freedom, equality ;—your wise men will go on to display ; and to lead, if you will let them ;—if you can but let them try to calm the injurious degrees of violence,—of war or force ; and to abandon

don every other method of reform but by reason and persuasion.

You had no business with war, if you could possibly have avoided it. However, in war and in peace, there are two similar propositions, which you seem not yet to have sufficiently considered. 1. In *war*, in order to bring your forces to act with effect, you must teach them the use of their *legs* and *minds* (that of their arms and weapons being soon learned) so as to bring their moral or superior republican spirit and perseverance into action—to where it should be, always in proper time: *that* superior spirit cannot otherwise be brought into the field, and will be lost.

Also in *peace*, to bring a whole nation passively to consent or more actively to propose, or (between both) to agree in any new form of government, a similar kind of discipline of mind, and still more time, you will find to be necessary. Truth must be displayed to their minds, and sufficient time and opportunity given them to think. Though you have had the good fortune to find or presently gain a majority of your own nation to your principles, you cannot so soon expect the same in others: so force it not prematurely upon them;—wait their conviction; which *peace* only can produce.

F. We mean nothing but peace, eternal peace,—and have been surreptitiously deprived of it by our insidious enemies, foreign and domestic; but we hope now, only for a short time; and by your assistance, to recover it;—and settle the world, as it ought to be, in eternal tranquility.

E. Softly with your eternals, brother citizen of the world: let us begin with the day, and with home, first. You must first try to recover your former peaceful and friendly disposition, and even improve upon it: you must forgive and receive your friends, relations, and poor emigrants. Though you cannot restore them all their property, you must give them free leave to return or go, and allow to all an equal chance under your new regimen. Many other domestic matters call aloud for peace, to which we are therefore rejoiced to see you at length disposed.

F. We waited only for you, and will not now dispute about who has been most in fault. We must ever think that your Tory government have been most to blame; as they might easily have prevented every successive cause of war;—but have rather chosen to lead or secretly excite the princes, courts, governments, nobles, aristocrats of Europe, against us;—to crush the growth of freedom every where, and at last exhibit this favoured quarter of the globe in a most wretched appearance, grievous to the truly philosophic mind;—stupid tyrants leading wretched armies of slaves to butcher one another, and thereby squeeze the remaining subjects into all manner of distress, debasement, and oppression: and among all the numerous picked legislators of Europe, so few seeming yet either to understand, or to wish for peace, truth, or freedom:—such a mind must be astonished and aggrieved at
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the view, and inquire how or where such a set of unfeeling and vitiated wretches as these k—gs and courtiers could possibly be found, or find so many people to fight for them! Does polished Europe, then, consist only of such masters, and their dependents!—of despots, and their slaves to be driven to slaughter, like their cattle, to feed the luxury or madness of a few?—But the finished picture would be too tedious and horrible here.

This injurious dread of republicanism, which your Tories have been industriously promoting, will do you great and lasting harm, and may, through you, retard the progress of mankind for many years. Now is your time to recover your lost ground: by joining heartily with us and America, you may yet model your own and their constitution, and gradually extend it to the whole world, from which you might reap the greatest commercial advantages, as well as from helping us to kindle the true spirit of freedom in Europe.

Your political progress has been doubtful, if not retrograde, ever since your commonwealth. Your aristocracies now discover an immensity of vice, corruption, and ignorance;—with sense enough just to perceive their danger, but not enough to evade or understand it; nay, more probably, with folly enough to run into it. Blind and timid wealth, after shifting sides with every breeze of change, at last flies for shelter to the den of despotism, from whence she may never escape, unless you take the occasion now to liberate her and the general mind, by the benignant hand of eternal justice, which leads to equality, &c.

E. Let the leading towards equality be gently then, and at a moderate pace. If you can but have patience, by your assistance, extensive knowledge, and late experience, we should hope to gain much improvement, and all be of service to each other. Only we beseech you not to hurry yourselves and your neighbours into the fire of confusion and precipitation. As men *improve* they naturally approach *equality*: but these two must go together; we must not leave the first and most essential, the *improvement*, behind, and force *equality* before it is possible.—Let us have a little patience, and all will come round. Even this tremendous *combination* of ours, of ranks, places, and property, which would surpass even feudal tyranny, if it could be executed or hang together, you will find cannot last. Though it has long existed secretly, it comes now with all the disadvantages of discovery, having foolishly thought itself obliged to declare and unmask, and thence to shew such horrid traits, and already symptoms of shame, &c. as to estrange all fresh recruits, and disgust even many of its own members, a number which will daily increase. J. B.'s awkwardness in the trammels of complete despotism may soon disgust him of it,—provided he is taken in time, and made to see and feel before his neck is bent and hardened to the yoke.—Tho' wealth, debauch, and despotism, go well enough together, and afford mutual support, they cannot long sustain the attacks of reason and truth

truth (when the press is free) in this age, such as you and we may make it. But such alliance will henceforward always be soon defeated by its own fears and ignorance, and as knowledge goes on accumulating, tyranny will gradually be more readily detected, whether in a combination of monarchs, nobles, anarchists, jacobins, or English proprietors. Her arts or tricks must at length be exhausted, and sufficiently known with an open *press*, which, therefore, we see power so anxious to regulate away. With a certain degree of patience and cool reason, all hurry, force, or severity become useless, and melt away into humanity and mind. You already begin to know these truths, and to feel their good effects. You never could probably have got so far on the road to peace, if you had not moved your legislature away, from the violence of a Paris mob, and shut up *Egalité*, &c. and you are already strong enough, and can afford to be merciful to them and to all,—even to your most inveterate enemies: so that we hope you will entirely abolish capital and cruel punishments, and shew us all,—that mankind can be easier and better governed without any such rigor and barbarity, and that only republics can establish the true principles of humanity.

F. We intend it, and flatter ourselves that by advising thus frankly with each other, we may advance fast in all science, and lead the rest of the world to follow us. We have been of late also wishing to give you some little advice. We were a good while surprised to see so little use made of the egregious tyrannical blunders made by your late ministry;—and were remarking how easily the crown, for example, would have turned them out for half such crimes or blunders, had they been on the other side; even from a simple coalition formed from English good-nature.

E. You see we all want wisdom, and the people most of all; their submitting to such a war, and such a m—y! will be a lasting shame. We both now see the necessity of improving the public mind or opinion, which yet wants wisdom and humanity. The popular voice seems too much the voice of violence as yet.—You know we cannot trust either young officers, soldiers, or school-boys, to judge or punish each other.—To get the people to chuse the *best* for leaders and representatives, is the most that can be expected of them for some time; and without great care, the most vulgar, violent, and ignorant, will contrive to elect each other.—If your's have lately chosen leaders that hasten into war and violence, you must try to teach them how to chuse better another time.—There cannot probably be a better measure of a minister than the duration of his peace. The preservation of peace, internal and external, is perhaps the whole of government. In the doses made up of *force* and *reason* which we are now obliged to use with mankind, who are yet but children, by gradually diminishing the quantity of 1st, perhaps it may at length be entirely left out,—but cannot be done all at once.

F. Your

F. Your doctrine is excellent; we hope to teach, assist, and emulate each other in the practice. As there must be some proper medium between obstinate permanence in error, and sudden unnecessary change, but which force is inadequate to find, let us hope we may now, by reason and free discussion, discover it, tho' different in every case; and let us hope we may together now discover the grand state secret of—*what to do next*, and *when to do nothing*—for example, whether you should now be contented in your projected reform, with procuring a tolerable representation of property only; or aim at once to obtain a complete personal representation of the people or public mind:—how and when to discuss these and other important subjects:—what shall be brought before the present prejudiced band of property, and what shall be reserved for the real voice of the nation to determine. You may probably as easily obtain what is just and right, at once, as by steps, bits, or piecemeal.—Having both burnt our fingers, of late, in meddling with needless force, may not we hope to learn from experience?—The human mind can never entirely lose its elasticity, even by the longest oppression; if forced or confined in one way, it will burst out in some other:—for ex. all attempts to what they call regulating the press, will become gradually more impracticable; it will regulate itself at last, even in spite of all force. Besides, 'tis never books, but violence against them, that creates danger. Treat them, and every rational being, gently and rationally, and all dangers will disappear. Your late Tory m—y have in several ways completely discredited their cause;—but chiefly in this subject by their needless timid violence, which seems destined by nature always to recoil on its authors—perhaps till man shall get a glimpse of his own rationality and possible progress. Authors rise in real and self importance, as the species improves, and are not to be intimidated, especially by ignorant ministers and packed juries whom they despise. Already the authors of certain growing ideas and opinions begin to feel their importance so strongly, as openly to brave and despise all that a miserable m—r or m— can do, in their blind wrath and ignorant cruelty. The nature and importance of some truths is such as to fill the mind with a most contemptuous daring even of death, and of all the folly of power.

E. The *press*, and the *representation*, gradually, as they become better understood, will become still more the important subjects of this country; and every public man, m—r, or party, will be judged by their behaviour on those two essential points, and which indeed may be made a good criterion of ministerial conduct and character:—and you accordingly find, that on these our late Tory m—y lost and disgraced themselves the farthest; and which was probably the chief cause of their fall. They ought to have foreseen that both these objects must now soon be obtained, and had far better have been sooner granted, and with a good grace.

F. Yes;

F. Yes ; it becomes gradually more obvious, the immense service we may be of to teach others in various ways ; in materially assisting both in the joint and general progress : we, helping to accelerate the whole, your British and Dutch phlegm, by our fire and activity ; and you, in keeping us within the proper limits of velocity and reason : if you can but keep your Tories away, from spoiling all again with their tyrannical doctrines, now doubly d—d and discredited both in America and Europe.

E. We shall do better ; we shall convert them by degrees to the beauties and benefits of our now improving constitution, which had been stationary or retrograde ever since the return of royalty ; so you need not much fear their return : they have sufficiently d—d themselves as you observe ; and have created such suspicions, or rather evidence, of their principles and designs, and even proofs of their ignorance, in opposing opinions by mere power, in their dread and suppression of some of our best writings ; in their teaching the people to look to brute force instead of reason,—to successful vice, tyranny, &c. that they can hardly ever regain any confidence, while we can take any care of the general education or institutions productive of knowledge and virtue. As they depend, you see, chiefly on keeping the people blind, and promoting ignorance, it will be long, we hope, before men will again voluntarily shut their eyes.

But our grand object, now that wisdom and science are in power, will be to persevere in acting up to that character ; and to keep a strict and severe watch on ourselves and each other : to work for the whole and not merely for a part, and least of all for such a small part as self, which will always be taken sufficient care of, and more so in proportion as public spirit is promoted.—We shall then be able to supply and maintain by degrees the whole world in virtue and knowledge.—We hope to see your countrymen assume and soon acquire the true stoical republican steady character, and their extreme heat and violence to subside. Even if the peace should not now be concluded, there is no doubt of your defeating all your enemies as fast as they are foolish enough to enter your country, (while you keep united ;)—but you must not pursue them nor make conquests : you must rather learn to conquer your own childish, petulant exultation on every small advantage ; and then that silly despondency on every little defeat. A national character for ever fixed and irrevocable, is arrant nonsense ; 'tis in the power of the legislator to make it what he pleases.—We shall then see the virulence, inveteracy, cruelty, of your different parties gradually pacified into peaceful love and fraternity, of which you are known to be already capable. Your jacobinism was, perhaps, a very good thing for its day ; but you have, it is hoped, now got rid of it, and will learn to excuse, and, perhaps, promote that varying jealousy of the people against all power and permanent institution, though of their own creating ; leaving them the way ever open to repair all, even their
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own mistakes, at the risk of some transitory scenes of injustice from the republican spirit of agitation and ostracism. If you can once find the people in leisure, and give them a desire to attend to their own minds and to the public,—the cause is gained; and if you can but go quietly on before, and not out of sight, we and all the other nations will gradually follow after.—You already know that the people are not naturally intractable, and ignorant, &c. as their late tyrants pretend; but are capable of every thing that can be taught, and especially their posterity.—As a 1st lesson, they have only to begin by remembering that those who freely enlighten their minds must be their friends; and that those who affect mystery, and snatch the book from their hands, must be their enemies.

Our thinkers and philosophers may assist your's probably more than you may now hope or imagine from our late display of error and ignorance. You will now find more of us capable both of following in some things, and of leading in others; and we rejoice to find you already inclined to allow us some sagacity, and to attend to our advice, and particularly to that of not attempting any progress by needless force or inadequate restraint. Let us only open our presses completely in both countries and languages, and leave men fairly to the operations of their own reason;—to their pens, tongues, and heads;—to work out their own salvation; for nothing else can do it.—They will then pursue and discover truth, without any untimely forcing it on them. No philosophy, for example, as yet, can persuade them not to be more affected at the fate of royalty than at that of other mortals, either in the theatre at Paris, or Whitehall: and those who insist upon forcing such doctrine upon them, before its time; (though it will be self-evident to posterity) only show their thoughtless violence, and their ignorance of $\frac{1}{2}$ human nature. Unhappily such people, though the most unfit to lead, have yet led you the farthest wrong. Now you have got rid of their lead, you must not, however, pretend to punish, but must convert them by gentle humanity and reason, and thus convince the world of the superior humanity and knowledge of republicanism: and as a Parisian rabble will not now govern or intimidate your legislature, you may gain the confidence and good opinion of whole nations, though not of courts, and thereby forward this otherwise impracticable business of peace. Though a combination of sophistry and despotism in various shapes should yet be the stronger or most numerous party in Europe, it cannot be long so.—Their complicated force will now be estimated, enlightened, and taken to pieces, and slip from their hands. Their armies and navies will begin to feel themselves men, and will not obey, (and will banish that base word).—They will only do their duty when and as far as reason commands; and observe the directions of those who they know can and do direct well, and no farther;

farther;—as in any other business. Blind obedience will be banished, as a beastly idea, from among men. But tyranny herself must be converted; 'tis our duty to watch for her symptoms of conversion and contrition. She will soon discover that 'tis now too late to think of suppressing knowledge according to the late aristocratic pretensions. The bird is flown: the secret is out. Some such fate of ignorance must probably in future attend upon all the attempts of *despotism*, which must thus always destroy itself, in a certain time. Whenever truth once gets out, and gains a step before, she must probably keep the start and win the race. Though her enemies seem not yet to know that there is already more truth and knowledge abroad than they can ever overtake, or again shut up; but they cannot long remain so ignorant; they must soon meet and feel the tide, and then turn about, and go with the stream. Though the medium-measures, or half aristocratic nonsense, of a Neckar or an Adams, of English, or Swift, &c. may amuse the yet foolish majority for a while, *that* will only be a step of short duration in the human progress, and men will soon perceive that nothing but aiming or going, at once, for universal *justice* and *equality* can ever carry them any length, or in the right road of their progression. Such is the nature or make of man or mind:—and legislators may probably now or soon be found, wise and candid enough to confess their ignorance, and inability to make what nature or universe has already made to their hands;—who will be contented to interpret the laws of eternal justice, without pretending to create what is already created.—But another difficult question arises, viz. if we ought to discover, or tell all we know, and alarm or warn tyranny of her danger, and take no advantages, as of secrecy, &c.

F. Certainly none:—we should tell all we know aloud. A noble sincerity will diminish, defeat, and walk calmly over all opposition with scorn, but with benevolent forgiveness.—Republics generally already disdain all mystery, and thereby confound and trample over tyranny and all her disguises. Truth or mind must at last be liberated from her dungeon, where she has been so long held by tyranny and superstition, and then with republican freedom, she will soon convert the world.

Our two countries, &c. will now, 'tis hoped, be more connected and acquainted: none are yet sufficiently so. To that end, there are doubtless many things we must trouble you with asking, concerning your late events, character, peculiarities; and shall be glad to make you better acquainted with our's, in which we find you yet rather deficient. Ex. the late *servility* of your nation, and their *insensibility* to any thing but their own interest or actual distress;—the late and sudden fall of your great Tory m——y;—so much of your island and so many of your people yet so uncultivated,—of this great English nation, the
boast

boast of the world. These and many other peculiarities, which will occur now in the course of our more familiar acquaintance, we should be glad you could explain a little to us, and put us in the best way of being acquainted with what is most worth knowing and imitating among you.

E. We rejoice to see your disposition to learn, and with a little more time and patience, brother citizen, we shall of course be better acquainted, and your questions all be answered by degrees.—As to our late m——y, or our high Toryism, they were brought down a little sooner than they or any body expected, by various accidents,—but chiefly by their own ignorance; foolishly fancying they could govern the people of this island by force or fear, which, they might easily have known, will always provoke more than intimidate;—by too visibly, though insidiously, interrupting their natural progression towards humanity, freedom, and all the arts of peace and happiness, and throwing them back into cruelty, ignorance, slavery, and war; eagerly seizing the occasion to awaken their old enmity to you, and even to freedom, because (at last happily) coupled with your name;—or rather chiefly because the people have been debased into servility and debauch by an overflow of riches in the corrupting channels of oppressive inequality; so that they were driven, and sinking fast into beasts of burden, as in the rest of Europe; when vile quarrels among their rapacious superiors have accidentally given them another chance for their freedom, and which we are now going to establish for them in a manner, and on so broad a basis, as will not be easily overthrown. You and America must assist us with your wisdom. If you please, we will have no treaties, but trust to our general sense of justice, and wisdom of the day, which, like our free commerce, will best direct itself and follow the wants, knowledge, and progress of society.—We will go on, if you please, gradually to abolish all customs or duties of import, and shall easily raise the small revenue we shall now want, internally. By diminishing our armies and navies, by degrees, let us hope, almost to annihilation; our public revenues will proportionally sink to what they should be; to a *minimum*, or least possible; somewhat like that of our friends in America. Our Tories, in a stupid security, were driving blindly on, just in the contrary direction;—when they thought themselves most perfectly right, were then the farthest wrong. The people might have been ridden or driven probably as far and as long as they pleased; if they had not (chiefly by some foolish and needless contempt, and severities with people wiser than themselves, so like the ignorance and insolence of settled tyranny) created so much enmity and suspicion as will bear them down, probably now for ever; and they will, it is hoped, be obliged to join the general voice of liberty, in their own defence; as the government will probably now be such as

to give no occasion for permanent opposition, which will always occasionally arise when wanted. People now begin to be surprized at their former approbation of such a government, and to discover its numerous defects as usual, now that its back is turned:—as at their total want of science or any fixed principles; working with the mere temporary shifts of the day, or often copied from the worst of their enemies. Ever blundering into the extremes of over-delay, or over-doing every thing; thence perpetually discovering timidity or ignorance, in the very anxiety to conceal them.—In all foreign policy, totally in the dark; waiting for the lesson of the day; or the childish retaliation,—the barbarous *lex talionis*, which has detained mankind in infancy for these thousands of years:—their concealed—hypocritical modes of promoting *corruption*, that hydropical distemper which they might easily have cured.

F. Your picture of Toryism, its vices and ignorance, will doubtless be *like*, when we shall have time to finish it, and will probably bear too strong a resemblance to most governments, hitherto.—By considering society or government in these black and degrading points of view, we may acquire perhaps a little too much disgust to it; but we also thence acquire a strong desire to improve it, which has more of *good* than the other has of *evil*. We may almost hate a large majority of the present race, and yet benevolently wish to make them better. But your old Whigs seem now also deserting to the other side. 'Tis feared that corruption or aristocracy gains instead of losing ground, of late, among ye. These 20 deserters from your Whig club were certainly wrong in quitting their brethren, and refusing to eat or drink with them, merely for difference of opinion;—so unlike Englishmen, who were latterly becoming remarkable in Europe for good nature and good temper in their politics, according to Addison, De l'Olme, &c.

E. We are pleased to see you attentive to us and our affairs of late; though very few of ye besides Voltaire, Mirabeau, and perhaps Brissot, have succeeded, or had patience and penetration enough to know us well. We now hope in many more of you knowing us, upon our better *acquaintance*; little else is wanting to make all nations *friends*; which they would soon be, if those hitherto villainous tyrannies and institutions, called governments, were to let them.—We should then soon help each other to discover and overcome all the arts of oppression;—and give the people leave to form and adopt the best and freest institutions possible. Nothing more is wanting but peace and intimacy among nations; so pray let us set heartily to work to produce it.

F. And as we are sincere, we shall probably succeed. A display and knowledge of the truth, in every thing, is of the first importance;—as in your affairs, and our's, of late;—by freely
saying

saying what we think, even of each other, we shall come the nearest to real knowledge: and amongst our now increasing ideas of your character and history, you will tell us which are wrong. It seems now to us, that we and Europe had hitherto conceived too highly of you, and adopted you as a political guide or star, from the want of a better pattern or leader to look up to: but since the American revolution, which has so completely exposed and disgraced the corrupted, tyrannical Tory principles of your government, and liberated the general mind to some years additional and now free discussion, we think that we must all look higher than to your old rotten constitution for examples and experiments. We shall not probably long, for ex. take even our ideas of the *rights of man* from your nonsense of *liberty, property, security*, &c. all of which will probably soon be found incompatible or impossible; and we shall find that simple *justice* and *equality* will soon and better supply the place. However, the world should be shewn your real situation in the political progression;—the gradual decline of your small degree of freedom from its last appearance, when roused by the Stuart or royal oppression, and thence its banishment;—and then hunted down by royalty,—by his sycophants and bloodhounds throughout Europe;—and thence its gradually sinking into oblivion thro' all sorts of corruption and Tory principles,—to the present day in which you dare hardly whisper to yourselves the idea of a *republic*; and such whisperers (of that confessedly best of all governments) are considered as the most dangerous animals; which they probably are, to tyranny and falsehood, but not to freedom and truth.

Those restoration scenes were obviously intended to be rehearsed with improvement by royal assassins, had they prevailed:—but we hope now for an opportunity of reclaiming, by the mercy and benevolence of real justice, as many as are reclaimable; and sending the rest to colonise any part of the other 3 quarters of the globe which they may chuse.—But the historic steps of aristocratic encroachment and tyranny, hitherto but too natural to man, should be fairly traced; and among his other improvements he may probably now learn to take more lessons from history than formerly. We should show the various modes of former usurpation even here,—as of sham elections, hereditary pretensions, on the false principles and tenures of property, of royal and impossible powers, &c. thro' all their various and mostly successful attempts, and at last thro' the aristocratic deception in 1688, which they called a *revolution*; but which was only a change of masters, like moving a right for a left foot from your necks, to deceive the ignorant, and make them pay, as you now see, much dearer for their still deeper dependence.

These truths, which lately so startled you, when poor timid slaves, would long ago have been familiar to your ears, had you sooner

sooner ventured to treat these and all subjects in our present free and open manner, as you ought.—'Tis only t'other day that some of your good writers, as a Hume and a Macauley, began to shew proper doubts of your pretended constitution and former freedom.—'Tis hoped you will now go on to trace and examine the real state and causes of your late political debility,—of your infancy and ignorance in the science of government, nor attempt to conceal what unlettered slaves your people have hitherto been,—beasts of burden, totally at the mercy of their employers; and of your wifery, the height of their ambition seems, or was lately, to become the pedlars, the button and buckle-makers to the rest of mankind, and thence arrive at the vulgar extreme of crapulous wealth or indolence;—by which they must soon become the prey or the prize of the rest of their neighbours who shall be wise enough to depend on the more solid foundations of science and discipline, and who may not yet have arrived at the proper degree of *justice* and *virtue*, but may still be foolish enough to think of conquests; a state of the human progress which few or no nations have ever yet got beyond, but which it is hoped some now soon may.

To the term *liberty*, generally vague and insignificant, you English seem to have no meaning at all; and under that pretext, your superiors, &c. may feed the people with all sorts of destructive vices. If necessity, and various accidents (as they are called) had not now forced you into a change of men and measures, and to look forward to your now natural allies, France and America, you were not only leaving Europe to fall, but leading her back into barbarous despotism and superstition:—but now we may hope the event of this peace and new alliance will contribute more than any thing to open the eyes of men and nations, and shew them the right political path to their greatest happiness, by the light of justice and truth, peace and good-will to all men; a path which their tyrants might otherwise yet long have concealed, and kept dazzling them with their sophistry and their armies, and persuading them that they could not live in ease and safety but under oppression and continual danger, from armies and establishments paid by themselves, and chiefly for the purpose of keeping them in subjection.

By borrowing a little wisdom from our now common friends in America, we shall both show our own. 'Tis clearly our duty now to give full liberty to investigation and discussion. Some important new truths begin already to appear evident: as the most natural rights or claims of man from society are, the supply of his *wants*, and the free exercise and thence increase of his *powers*:—that the road to *reform*, we now see clearly, does not lie thro' war and violence, but in the contrary direction; and consists probably in simple *justice*, which will become evident in proportion as that comprehensive virtue comes to be understood:—that

—that political truth, now so long concealed and dispersed by tyranny and ignorance, must now be looked for and put together again by the wisdom and candour of various minds, from a *Plato*, down to a *Paine* and a *Godwin*: that those who shall rightly employ all the human powers of *union*, which will be found far superior to those of *disunion* hitherto employed; and shall rectify our ideas of *property*, perhaps by a gradual but total abolition or change of the present system, will probably be the true saviours of mankind:—that *property*, once given away to feed individual rapacity, from the whole society to which it belongs, can no longer be regulated or directed towards the public good, by any laws or institution then within the human powers; nor can we then stop the progress or termination of society in despotism of some kind,—but by some essential change in that otherwise eternal source of contention, inequalities, vice, viz. *property*.

E. Yes, these are probably *truths* of great importance, and which some of us had already been suspecting, and in which we are of course pleased to be confirmed by your opinion, and to perceive that we may soon learn to agree near enough for mutual assistance and investigation. Bold thinkers, even more than bold actors, are necessary to the human progress. You French have great merit in both ways; and if you could but be coupled with others of more temper and cool thought, you become a necessary part or ingredient in the European *Amalgama*,—when it comes to be mixed up with *peace* and *justice* enough: and *that* leaven will then gradually affect the rest of the globe, by the various and now increasing modes of communication; and particularly when they all come to be assisted by *printing*, that simplest and easiest of all the modes; and which we think must do more good than harm in all situations. For tho' the press is often seized and regulated by power, and thence employed to promote error and slavery, as in Catholic Europe, and now attempting here;—yet we see by the *reformation*, and by *revolutions* becoming gradually more frequent, that such a state of things cannot be made to last; and that the antidote inevitably accompanies the poison, in the very powers, thereby promoted, of *reading* and *thinking*, tho' these should be at first employed only on falsehood and vice. We believe that truth or science cannot be established nor long *resisted* by force or violence, which must always create a proportional resistance,—till a total extirpation on one side or both,—but which can scarcely happen to the side of truth and science; for while any printing, books, and human beings remain together upon earth, they will mutually assist, increase, and improve each other, in spite of the most vigilant tyranny;—and at last, even in spite of *artifice*.

F. We believe your doctrine is right, and that our free communication is of great importance; and happily not easily prevented, nor to be long impeded; and we may hope that all such attempts

attempts will be defeated, and generally prove the very cause of defeat; as here, with your late M——y, and which they so richly deserved; as likewise all those who shall ever presume to *fight* opinions, by any kind of force or persecution. Some think the question between *force* and *reason* still at issue;—we think it already clearly decided in favor of reason. For tho' *force* or tyranny should vanquish now, 'tis clear she would so soon have the same work or greater to repeat, and so often, and so much of such work, as to find it at length impossible, and must at last remain herself vanquished, and submit, with the world, to reason and justice.

E. 'Tis very remarkable now that we discover—how near the *moderate* of both sides were to agreement; (and the moderate form certainly a great majority almost every where);—and yet we are led into the madness of war!—and even our treaties are hitherto only different degrees and species of war:—these evils, and their causes, are much worth investigation, and capable of cure; and if you and we can possibly remain for any time in our present temper towards each other, we may surely fall upon some methods of securing to mankind what is so plainly the interest and desire of so great a majority of them, viz. perpetual blessed *peace*. We have only to watch with vigilance against the various arts that will be employed to interrupt the present temper and harmony.

F. O yes, we will swear eternal peace.—You must excuse our habitual freedom and warmth; but you must surely now perceive, that your legislature is not yet constructed so as to preserve peace, or to improve itself or any thing else;—but to labour only for individual selves and their makers;—not even to express or aim at the general *sense, will, wisdom, or interest*, (which should be all synonymous, and would soon be so, if not impeded by the artifices of tyranny):—and you know those who impede the necessary improvements, are the real authors of the consequent overflowing mischiefs.—You have long been also simple enough, like us, to fancy, 1, that your parliaments represented the nation; 2, were your deputies; and 3, could express the general will; 4, could work for the public good; and 5, in time produce a reform:—*rien de tout ça*; you must now be convinced. As they can represent and work only for themselves and their masters, the crown and aristocracy; 'tis in vain—'tis foolish to expect reform of any abuse from those who profit by it. They are not even equal to our parliaments, who voted for reform, tho' they could not themselves effect it; nay thereby lost their own consequence, and their very being;—but they electrified the nation with the love of freedom.

However, the combination which has cruelly prevented some of the best effects of our experiment, will not probably frustrate—but only retard the progress of legislation, &c.—Your government must, we should think, now improve. Indeed if your mi-

ministry had been wise enough to promote the natural disposition to discussion and research, as they ought, the advances might have been much accelerated;—as by some permanent committee or mode of receiving ideas and information,—to guide, not stifle thought, food would be laid in, for future minds, and changes be made gradual and even pleasant, instead of dangerous and destructive, a case and situation from which you have just narrowly escaped. The nonsense of stopping or smothering of inquiry, you see, could not be made to last long, in this thinking, talking, printing age. The secret once out, people will find means to tell it each other. They cannot, now-a-days, long *love* despotism; nor even be long satisfied with the middling or half-wise opinions of a B—— or a W——, &c. And they are or must soon be convinced that they have now no constitutional source of reform, and will therefore invent and establish one. You Whigs will probably be wise enough not to stem but guide the stream of public opinion and innovation;—which is the only way not to be overset and overwhelmed by it, like your predecessors.

Many of our legislators are, to be sure, but prating, silly, hot-headed fools; but the wise man would be still more astonished at the intrepid ignorance and insolence of most of your's:—such vulgar, ignorant fellows, pretending to lead and to dictate, without either travelling or reading, on subjects that require so much of both, is truly ridiculous;—as also their affected contempt and abuse of our's, so far their superiors, and whose names will live in the same ever attending on freedom, while those of your Tory slaves of monarchy will sink into contempt or oblivion:—and on seeing your immense majorities of such men, so impudently supporting the doctrine of Spain, inquisition, Morocco; and without knowing from whence it comes, to what it may lead, or what they are saying; all does certainly indicate the most debased and slavish period;—a nation almost too far gone for recovery. Were it only for the cramp or interruption which this war has brought upon the human mind and its progress, your late m——y deserve to be hanged as the chief cause of it,—or even for not preventing it when they could so easily.

E. Thus it is that you disoblige all nations, friends and foes; by your hasty flippant manner and behaviour, and mode of talking of them. We like your sincerity and *franchise*; but surely the truth may be told in decent, though strong language. We may conform to that of a court, without being contaminated or enfeebled by it—(doubted.) If we can but teach you to think a little before you speak, your conversation and conduct will both be more consistent. Had you observed or known us a little better, you would have seen how unlikely—how incapable we were to create a revolution or even a reform here, as you hoped; and you would not thence have been so hasty in declaring war, prob-

bably in the view of creating a revolution among us.—You forget that we have just agreed to abolish capital punishments; and 'tis of importance to begin with some eminent examples. You lost the greatest that may ever again occur, your *King*. You may *now* live to regret that irreparable example lost, but never to find another such: and you thereby retarded the progress of the true principles, more than all the foolish ministers.—But let us not lose our time and temper in reproaching each other farther than necessary for discussion. We have been egregiously misrepresented of late to one another, and may hope now to come to a better understanding. But we must beg leave still to wait a little more of the result of your experiments, before we make any great change in our government; and when we do, it must be gradual. Though we must confess your experiment has been badly made, and that it was cruel and foolish to interrupt you in it. However, bad as it is,—even the disappointment would serve as an example or warning to others; would teach them to provide accordingly, and help to secure the success of other attempts.

But let us hope that all attempts will in future be by *reason*, not *force*. 'Tis melancholy to see mankind yet such children; and flying to arms and war on every trifling fancied provocation;—to see them fancying that democracy and aristocracy cannot now live together as hitherto, but must come to open violence—till one opinion exterminate the other: 'tis worse than the feudal combats, or inquisitorial tyranny.—'Tis easy to foresee that democracy (i. e. justice and equality) must in time prevail, with or without contest, gradually as knowledge is diffused: so that all war or violence is both entirely needless and merely destructive. The progress of reason we think visible enough, even in spite of the prevalence of despotism of late. You see that even *our* public debates improve a little from one year to another, both in quality and quantity, on the most important subjects. Two days discussion on the great object of parliamentary *reform*, promised something more for next year; and writers, during vacation, keep up the *discussion*, which is the most important part. Our young men and future legislators will now probably read, travel, and inform themselves more, and not merit so much of your contempt as their predecessors. *Equality*, the intellectual and chief kind, may yet be promoted by an increasing number of liberal minds. Already a Fenelon, a Newton, &c. would rejoice at their servants, being as wise as themselves.—A right and general education would soon reduce intellectual differences to very trifling.—Then a *majority* of numbers and of reason would be the same; (and the majority admits of no other remedy, nor of any appeal.) We shall not then be beasts of burden, as our present *superiors* wish to keep us; and shall know how to chuse and employ *them*, and judge better of every subject.

ject of importance to us. Though nations, governments, and generally all corporate bodies, are hitherto unjust—cruel monsters to each other, and even to their own members when weak, and themselves out of danger; yet we may justly hope it will not always be so. By education and the true form of government, or society, the *individual* becomes *general* improvement; and they then mutually improve each other. These and all subjects will again be open to discussion; a situation in which they never fail to advance.—Men will be good for little or nothing, but to propagate their species, till they are totally cured of *ambition*, *avarice*, and *superstition*. By the two first, they are made *rogues*, and by the 3d, *fools*. That this cure is possible with the generality, we know enough of man to determine, even without the numerous individual examples to confirm it.

Ambition still threatens, but will probably be defeated.—Russia, + Austria, + Prussia, and if + Bourbons re-instated;—the combination would be tremendous indeed:—but even then it would soon fall to pieces; they must quarrel about the spoils, &c.; and though the object would be unworthy of men, and so inferior to the present, yet whatever tends to a dissolution of such governments and combinations, may be considered as friendly to freedom.—But such combination can never probably now be completed, and even the present must soon fall to pieces;—a general sense of the designs and the dangers of it, and of monarchy or despotism, and of liberty, in general, is now abroad and spreading fast among men, and will soon appear:—the greater danger is, in its appearing too soon.—There never was perhaps in the world so great an object of contest as the present. The minds of the wisest are full of this, and their pens will soon make it clear, and it behoves all to attend to them.

No time or prescription can sanctify injustice. Mankind must gradually perceive this, and return to justice, as knowledge opens to them.—If individual *property* should ever come to be considered in its proper light, with the proper mode of cultivating and enjoying it in common; the different countries will then probably admit of inhabitants indiscriminately, till all their lands and trades are full, (which is yet an indefinite degree;)—and at last, there will be no national divisions, or any thing to prevent the whole earth being equally open and free to all its inhabitants:—and for this, it seems to want little else but to be divided into districts small enough for individual happiness and exertion, which is the primary object of all society. Local divisions, jealousies, impediments, will disappear, and mankind discover they are but one family, as they all live upon one globe.

Hardly any yet have tried the utmost capability of the good or best parts of human nature: only a few generals or conquerors, and priests, have shewn men to be capable of immense powers and degrees in both active and passive courage,—in cruelty, and perseverance, &c. We might probably all, or most, be made capable also of the utmost or persevering spirit of *benevolence*; even without the usual motive of applause, or its being known; as we already know of many single acts of such beneficence. Men might perhaps learn to persist in serving even their ungrateful country, or friends; and to save them, almost in spite of themselves:—or to devote their whole efforts to the service of others, with more pleasure than to their own: they may surely learn to be less cruel and savage to each other than hitherto.—But man is capable of all *degrees* of moral perfection, gradually as the institutions or modes of society shall be discovered and adopted that are calculated to create and support those degrees:—or as he becomes convinced of their importance.

This agrees with the ideas of Jesus Christ on human nature; and he was probably right in many things. His *morality* is not so impracticable as man, yet in infancy, may imagine; and it may in time be practical and common, with a rational and natural state of society, according to his prophetic thoughts, or those of his historians.—He was certainly a very extraordinary man, even though his life and character should be mostly fabricated by after-historians and vulgar report: the *benevolence* of his morality is beyond all after-fabrication. The doctrine, the story and character, deserve much attention, though they should be only partly true;—even though only an idea,—like those fine characters in romance, which afford so much morality, reflection, sentiment, system, progress, &c. to the mind: such are highly worth preserving and studying, (but not the bad characters which some authors seem to take a malignant pleasure in drawing, and generally much more beyond real life and possibility than the good; such are surely not worthy either of preservation or consideration;

tion; and such our author has wisely condemned to oblivion.) If Jesus Christ had fortunately appeared in a less ignorant country, or in a period less on the decline, and met with minds and historians more worthy of him, and who understood him, he and his doctrine might have done more good and much less harm. And it might be much worth while now, for a truly philosophic mind yet to investigate the story and character on the principles of probability, as far as possible at this distance through dark ages;—to discover and distinguish that which may probably be true, from that which must be false, impossible or improbable, according to the degrees of evidence, by reason and sound judgement;—to distinguish the great merit, benevolence, and good sense of his doctrine, from the vulgar superstition and nonsense of it. Such researches are beginning in our day, and may partly succeed, and prove a step in our progression. It was said, some years back, that certain Persian MSS. had been found, giving some account of him; and as we become better acquainted with the East, something more may be discovered.—— This is of some importance as a matter of curiosity, more so as a matter of morality, and still more as tending to cure men of all blind and brutifying superstition, which they must be, in some advanced stage of their progress.

Philosophers hitherto embarrass themselves by supposing and searching for design, and plan, and author, final causes, intelligence, system, &c. in this universe; of which there is no sufficient, or to us intelligible, evidence:—in short, these are all weak, human, or half ideas. Our little designs, plans, forethought, cost us such efforts, that we readily ascribe the faculty that produces them in us, to whatever our fears and fancies create and set up for our respect and admiration.——When we examine how we come by those ideas of design, &c. we find ourselves to be only the *vehicles* of them, and that they are transmitted, through us, by a *chain of causes*, of which we are only one of the links, but of which we are not *made* so as to know the 1st link or moving cause. Our being *one*; and probably a most essential one, of them;—our capacity to see some of the nearest of the rest, and especially those below us, or the necessary consequences, (though not the connections) is probably enough for us to know, in order to *go on*,—to determine to look and move *forward*, which is evidently our *best way*;—and never to stand still longer than necessary to ensure the next step.

It seems also of consequence for us to consider,—how far *man* may hope to become *rational*, even in spite of his passions, and if he can regulate without extinguishing them?—how many steps he can learn to reason with certainty?—and if 1, why not 1000?—in what cases his *rational* can be made to vanquish or regulate his *animal* nature?—if in most or the most essential cases, why he may not then be able to walk *almost alone*—without (or gradually dimi-

diminishing) the retarding, and at last pernicious, pretended helps of law, government, parties, families, friendships, &c. by following merely justice and humanity?—if motives may not always be found sufficient to oppose and regulate passion (or hurried reason) or gradually to cool it back into reason?—If he is yet to promote the *general good*, (for which he seems placed here, as if on purpose) and must thence leave off being so mischievous an animal as hitherto, and try to find the means of mutual and individual *happiness* and *general peace*?—How many of his vices and evils are owing to the *errors* and the *permanence* of his own *institutions*; and which of these ought to be changed and improved? and which entirely, and which gradually abolished!

The secret of duly mixing and employing the powers of thinking, reading, talking, and writing, is not yet completely understood, and is probably destined to carry the *human mind* yet a great way farther, (et dont il a grand besoin.) Though the strongest reasoners hitherto often go the farthest wrong (only in England) yet reason is certainly capable of leading us more right than wrong, and therefore deserves the first and most assiduous attention and cultivation. Our now beginning to perceive its infantine state, may be a symptom of progress. Though each man's own reason or mind is to him the ultimate judge of every thing—though we have no better guide or vessel to carry us, should we not therefore mend and keep her in order? and consider when to sail, and when keep in port? when to go alone, or in company? how much loaded, and what cargo, &c.?—Though too much confidence, and many other sources of error, be all extraneous and not in the nature or essence of reason, and thence curable; is caution therefore less necessary? and these causes of error less worthy of investigation and of cure?

When the wise shall rise to a certain number or degree, may not society then make a sudden step into some advanced stage of its perfectability? When the different classes of philosophers shall learn to see one another often, and get rid of their mutual contempt, jealousy, &c. and shall join with the statesmen, and all mutually understand and assist each other and the public; surely they may form an increasing and powerful class, and accelerate the human progression.

Whatever degree of independence some philosophers may be disposed to give to man, he is certainly a gregarious animal—a social being: and let them beware of confounding egotism with independence, which is much too frequently done in this country. If men find that 2 joined, can produce = 4 separate; and that perhaps 10 ditto can often produce = 100: so that one ratio is 1:2. and the other as 1:10: man will thence be not only a social and gregarious animal, but must study the best modes of union, concert, co-operation, or the collective force of the human powers; he will thence learn to sacrifice his egotism to general good

good, and all mutually improve each other, and the collective mind: and works of united labour will improve probably faster, and more than those of individuals: so great and wonderful are our co-operative powers, and peculiar to the human species.

The utility of this our joint, social, or *collective force*, though so highly useful, must however have its limits, beyond which it is too often made a pretext and means of slavery and subjection of some men to others—even of the many to the few.—However, this shows its insuperable existence; and that it must be regulated, not banished.—The efforts of any individual, or their effects, are more limited than many imagine. On examining, we may be surprized to see how few things we can do, without the previous or co-operative help of others:—and to find every truth, proposition, discovery, trade, tool, method, machine, or system, to have been the work often of millions; both by joint, and separate or individual endeavours.—In the exercise and distribution of these important united powers, which should neither be lost nor abused, seems to consist much of our progress, and thence our happiness. All associations must be voluntary and conditional, subscribing—promising the least that can possibly answer the purpose,—a *minimum*; and men must in justice be taught not to promise, bind or enslave themselves, needlessly.

All the passions—and animality of man will probably diminish, or be regulated and organized, as his reason advances: and this progress may have its limits, though as yet out of sight.—We need never fear being too rational, too good, nor too near equality; we may safely steer that course, as on a windward shore, to be approached with every advantage, though never to be attained.—The belief in the powers of moral influences upon us, and thence of our powers over our own character and actions, seems much the most advantageous belief.

How to estimate and regulate,—improve and use the *public mind* or opinion, seem not yet well understood. Is it worth procuring and using, till farther improved? or is it, like reason, always the only, though a fallible guide? From thence there can be no appeal, nor any remedy, where wrong, but by enlightening the people. All is done, or supposed done, by its consent or tacit permission.

After being moved or interested above a certain degree, men cannot be expected to be just or impartial judges: so there may be cases so interesting to all mankind, as to render them all unfit to judge, and for which therefore no justice can be found. Hence any popular prejudice or ignorance will render the people unfit for juries. Probably no people in Europe yet are, though they all ought to be, fit to judge, for example, concerning the liberty, regulations, or productions of the press;—of seditions, treasons,—nor of many other moral or political questions. But the sooner they are made fit, the better; and they should practise
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and learn, even before they are completely fit. And it should thence be examined how far their labour might be facilitated, both ways; 1, by qualifying *them*, and, 2, abridging their *work*:—by trying how far, and perhaps better, society might exist by reducing, instead of increasing its laws, crimes, and punishments; and particularly those of libels and treasons, which probably ought not to exist any where. That any *words*, spoken or written, should add to the black list of foolish crimes, will, in time, be considered as great a barbarism as witchcraft.—Then if we could be liberated from that immense load of law about property, —men might begin their moral progress.

Should this public *will* be collected from a majority of numbers, or of wisdom? Or should not we beware of all pretended optimism, ranks or aristocracy, which ought always to be a *minimum*? But so many, you say, are always unfit to think or give an opinion:—not so many, and these will diminish fast, by practice, thought, &c. when once in the right form. Are not we thus led from every thing to conclude that the improvement of the public mind or education is the first object?—without this, the radical evils of society seem irremediable. The rich say, “If all the people we feed, chuse to be so fed, and willingly make or continue us their administrators (tho’ a duty beyond our or any powers) how can we prevent or cure their folly?” Teach them better.—That would require some force, for they will not be taught.—Yes, they will, if you go honestly and rightly about it; or at least their children will. And as we rise to the height of one great truth, others begin to appear before us. If the philosophers in France and America have secured, for example, a true channel for the public voice, they may then perceive the necessity of improving—of enlightening that voice, before it can be of much or of certain use.—But they must beware of using any substitute on pretext of waiting till it is qualified or fit for use. It must act, and thereby learn. Fear not the anarchy of infancy or ignorance, which cannot last long.

How far the people, while very ignorant, may be misled even by partial truth, or mixing it with falsehood, has been seen in *religion*. Hence they should always be told or shewn the whole truth,—or all the truths or parts essential to each other.—It is essential to know when force can be overcome or gained by reason, which, I believe, it generally may.

Even the French have many moral lessons yet to learn. They have as yet but very bad ideas of *political justice*, and this nation still worse. Their employing *force*, where reason would evidently answer much better, is doubly shameful for the reformers of the world.—They will now again probably overload themselves with laws and regulations.—*Law* is full of evil, and not the road to moral happiness, as will soon be shewn in various publications.—One of its worst effects seems to be the supposition that
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all or most men are rascals; and while they are considered and treated as such, they will never be better.—Punishment may create dejection, resentment, despair, and vice,—but can never positively improve us. The *prevention*, and not the punishment, of crimes is of importance.

As we see that men may be taught to *love* even slavery and *despotism*, is it not of great importance to teach them how to hate it, or rather coolly to consider its effects, and reject it?

As *education* is now obviously becoming of such immense importance, may not we expect to see some of our greatest men become school-masters?—or all become teachers?

If all *monopolies* and *combinations* are so generally against the common interest, should not the difference and the nature of *individual* and *corporate* mind be well studied and distinguished?—both be improved, and appointed to their separate offices?

Is not the mind much improved in its morality by the habits of frequently considering the *public good*? And if all and each could be made to labour chiefly for, or even converse upon, such objects, would not the benefit, physical and (chiefly) moral, be immense? And hence probably the mere meeting of people at the capital, once a year, is probably a chief cause of English superiority.

Frankness and *sincerity* would also improve almost every thing else. By every one attempting to express their then increasing sentiments and ideas, the stock and communication of them would thence be much improved and augmented.—But the causes of human improvement and decline, or moral or any *causation* in general, is yet but little known; and more especially the general *complication* of causes, which we seem unwilling to see, being so fond of system and simplification.

Representative government, though the best hitherto known, may yet be found defective, and serve only as one of the human steps towards perfection:—but as it may be a lasting and thence an important stage, it should be well studied and improved; especially as it is yet but little understood, even here. Representing property only, can hardly produce good government, or moral character, but the contrary: and when all property comes to be completely represented, such a government, or combination of proprietors, may become the most despotic and immoveable tyranny, ever known, over all the rest, or non-proprietors; who may thence increase in numbers, and in the degrees of slavery,—worse than the feudal. Nothing but the extreme absurdity and hardship of such a system, being made very evident, could then defeat it;—but that absurdity could then long be concealed and decorated by sophistry, as now. It is only the imperfection and incompleteness of this unjust system that makes it bearable hitherto. Seeing many people of property yet without even a vote, keeps the rest of the unrepresented in countenance, and preserves them

them from the contempt and slavery which becomes almost inevitable when all the proprietors are united by representation. If they are now cruel and unjust to the rest of society, what would they be then? So that it is clearly *men*, and not *property*, which should be represented in the legislature.

As *organization* and *education* are obviously necessary to society, and all as the people or nation, in their properly selected wisdom, shall chuse, *that* mode of choice is certainly of great importance; though the people may at first be unequal to select rightly, they must practise till they learn; and it is cruel and villainous to mislead them, or take any advantage of their ignorance, passions, habits, or vices, of all which they may soon be cured. Nothing can supply the place of *their choice*; so that they *must* be qualified for it, and good government must be made, or at least begun, by bad or perhaps despotic materials.—But there may be such efficacy in the true form, as soon to produce wisdom and virtue enough for its own purposes, even from an European *canaille*; if they can but gain such a head of reform, public spirit, and union, as to stand for a while the shock of their enemies, and especially that of their own vices and ignorance.

Men of study, it is hoped, will now be forced from their retirement. It is impossible to do or know every thing in one's closet, nor to see all of *man*, &c. without constant or frequent looking. Much will escape the best and most steady sight. Theories built in retreat, upon a few facts, will yet long be subject to totter—and fall;—though the time may come when the philosophic minister may, from his desk, direct the great machine of society aright,—as a Mons. G. attempted with his ship-building; but even there, it was found as yet impossible.

None can probably keep the right road, or gain the true results, but he who enters the tables of the world with a few demonstrated principles, and has sagacity enough to find the rest as he goes on. Hitherto the theorist enters with too many, and the practitioner with too few.—When shall we get these two to join and produce true *wisdom*?—of which it is truly astonishing to find so little at the end of this 18th century, and thence that little always in a minority.

The party or government that shall first abolish *capital punishments*, will give at once the most indubitable proof of advancement, and bid the fairest for success in every way. *Truth* (of some kinds at least) will be well received, and readily prevail when proposed, at the worst of times.—But many, and perhaps the most important, kinds of it, 'tis feared, must now again be buried, or kept out of sight, for a while: the barbarous cry of pretended dangers,—of monarchy, aristocracy, christianity,—in short, of despotism in different disguises, must now, it seems, again overwhelm and arrest the progress of mind and discussion,—of reason and justice;—but that cannot long succeed, nor now suppress

suppress or destroy the natural elasticity of mind, as already hinted.—It may, indeed, be feared that the *disorganizers* (some of them, perhaps, the friends of tyranny in the deepest disguise) are the most to blame, in producing and continuing war and violence, which is advantageous only to the most dark and stupid despotism: but if such is really the case, they cannot reign long without a discovery and defeat: and we should hope that reason and moderation may soon prevail (by numbers, though not by violence or spirit) over the folly and hasty madness of immediate perfection, or any disguised tyranny or deception.

Let us take another rapid glance of these foolish tyrants and *nations*, the promoters of war. It is astonishing to see the present jealous world so little jealous of *Russia*, with her immense armies, of a new and tremendous kind,—so improveable, and so fit to domineer over Europe;—so immoveable and lasting, as to remain and advance, after those of other nations are no more; (for these cannot long be supported on the present system.)—Her folly of turning back upon Europe, with Asia before her, it seems she does not chuse to see; and may produce a great deal of destruction by premature efforts, and foolish conquest. With Poland, our natural European frontier, once in her power, it is time for all the other nations to look about them. Her folly of attempting to be a maritime power from the bottom of the frozen Baltic, is not so dangerous, and could excite only the foolish jealousy of a J. B.—Under a successor, worthy of *Peter the Great*, she might do great good towards the Black and Caspian Seas, and the important countries surrounding them, as Peter intended. And if this Empress were as liberal and wise as she pretends to be, she would publish Keith's and Peter's letters on these subjects,—and make peace, and crave the assistance of France and England, to extend civilization and rational freedom again to those eastern countries; and the spirit of Peter and Keith would revive to help her.

If the French now repeatedly fly or give way before an inferior force, 'tis a symptom or some of their changes of mind. Is the change in the cause? in them? or in both? Their being so inferior in cavalry is a great and insuperable defect.—But they cannot be beaten at home, unless they chuse to beat themselves, by their divisions. Their country cannot otherwise be penetrated with impunity. How many battles have been lost by a part pursuing their opponents too far! instead of facing to the right or left upon the flanks of those that remain! Many had hopes that the French were the fittest to lead the rest, in many things, (though not in all that they themselves may fancy) and to risk experiments for the good of the whole.—But then again their national character is yet one of the least proper for pursuing, with patience, experimental induction, and gathering true result; (but it was cruel and unjust to impede their experiment.)—They

may now disgust more than gain the world, and frighten instead of winning them with their freedom; and may discredit the best of principles,—instead of reconciling, teaching, and leading us all into the delightful paths of freedom, truth, and justice, which they should and might easily have done. (Not so easy with such enemies and impediments.) With all the respect due to many of their noble efforts and liberal sentiments, we may doubt their being yet up to their task, or capable of sufficient coolness and moderation, of patience and recollection,—of a disinterested, impartial, and determined wisdom,—sufficiently open to all information;—or if we may rather still suspect their flighty, hot feminine character, too like the Scotch and Irish, and the European nobility in general. 'Tis curious that the meaning of the English word *steady*, seldom (if ever) occurs in France, Scotland, or Ireland.—But the French character will change and accompany the true principles, if they can but hold them long enough.—Since they have been so foolish as to put their cause on the decision of blind force, their best or only chance now is probably in the quality of their armies,—and in some simple and ready method of forming and reforming them;—in their becoming fit for deliberative as well as executive bodies; and the hopes that this lesson may reach other armies, who will thence learn to feel themselves men, and not mere machines, and that they will learn to obey, or rather to follow directions, only as far as their reason tells them it is right; and not be the blind instruments of tyranny;—nor force or impose even freedom,—but will protect it. 'Tis certainly better for the world that armies consist of men rather than machines,—of thinking and rational beings, and of which there is now some hope. We have already seen them in America and France, at times, highly sensible of freedom and justice, and behave with the disinterested wisdom of stoics and senators. The death of L. 16. has now probably affected the soldiers of both sides;—animated the one, and disanimated the other.

Force has sometimes been on the right side, and has done some good amidst its almost universal mischief: as in the cases of Timoleon of Syracuse, in Switzerland, Holland, America, &c.; and it may still oftener be right, tho' seldomer employed, as men improve. When wisdom can be selected to wield the arms of defence, the moderate and wise will be protected, and elected to their places of leaders and legislators, and the world may then still look with hope to the French constitution; in imitating it, people will now be probably too cautious and slow; making war upon it, or trying to suppress it by force of any kind, is at once both madness and tyranny, which must probably have their usual effects, and promote what is meant to be suppressed;—may excite resentment, disgust, curiosity, investigation, &c. and recoil upon their employers.—But are there not hopes of some or most of the parties concerned,

concerned, being soon tired of the folly of fighting? and of their being inclined to listen to reason?—When the one party can be persuaded to relinquish a little of their obstinacy, and not interrupt the march, by turning back to principles already left so far behind;—and if the other could be cured of part of their vulgar violence, and intemperate passion for total and untimely reform; going so much too far, and out of sight, where it is impossible to follow but by degrees, they might all perhaps be brought to agree in some other essentials,—and even about the name of their government,—whether it should be called a *monarchy* or a *republic*, or something that might include both ideas, though perhaps actually the latter.

'Tis astonishingly stupid in the kings and ministers of Europe, to oppose France being a *republic*; for as such, she will never be fit for foreign conquest, nor dangerous to her neighbours: (though indeed she may be dangerous to their tyranny.)—And may not we hope that these two *detestable* wars, this and the American, will serve to put all wars out of fashion? as well as their *detestable* cause, dark and bloody *despotism*? (whom we may now be enabled to discover, and hunt down, through all his disguises?—and then gently reform and reconcile him to join the general happiness.)

Events now succeed each other so rapidly, from French *levity*, &c. that none can rightly arrange or judge them and their consequences.—Present language and thought seem too slow for the *furia Franceſe*.—Yet the republican spirit seems already to have taken root there, and deeply for them. Some foolish people hope in their levity of their being soon disgusted with liberty;—a hope which is surely very ill-founded, and on a party which is not likely to increase.—What a pity they should ever have been provoked, or think of propagating their new doctrines by force! With reason on their side, they know not how to employ her.—War was clearly the game of their enemies, (though only of the foolish ones) and ever the source of inequalities and oppressions of all kinds. They ought to have put up with every thing, rather than go to war. They were repeatedly told so, and that their revolution could not succeed, unless they could preserve *peace*, and *forgive* their enemies,—but they know not wisdom when they see her.—However, if they could remain united and determined for only a very short time longer, they might still succeed, even against the whole world;—and they might divide that world, if they had but sense and virtue enough;—but 'tis too plain they have not enough, and are but bad politicians. Only the ideas of some,—but not the French character, are yet up to republicanism: but they will soon rise to it, if they can persist, and if their enemies continue so foolish as to provoke and press them into resistance and unanimity.—Though truth may tremble to see her cause in such bad hands, she may teach them

them to triumph at last: what has been already seen may help to shew the timid and doubtful republicans (who are perhaps already a large majority in Europe) what may be done by a few good principles in good hands, since so much could be done by them in bad ones, and much more almost accomplished.

So that this French *experiment*, even though it should now fail, will probably have many more good than bad effects:—it will serve to diffuse some *truths* of great importance,—to shew the practicability of some that were doubtful, and thence at once evince and promote the human progress. It now appears plain enough that the abolition of all privileged orders may be easily accomplished whenever the people chuse to say the word, or shall find a proper organ for *that* word, in an adequate representation;—that *justice* and *equality* are natural or belong to man, and will therefore be gradually attained:—and that these and other similar truths will then meet with more general approbation, when proposed. And it also appears clear that king-killing, violence, and cruelty will never do, and will be still more generally execrated, as mankind improve and acquire the habits of justice and humanity.

Will the haughty house of *Austria*,—the Emperor, keep promise now with his Flemish subjects, and give them their constitution improved, their army, &c. ?—It is more probable he will be so shameless, unwise, and unjust, as to wish to consider them now as a conquer'd people,—or at his mercy; or first to be flattered, then intimidated, and squeezed. To that beggarly house, always overstretching its powers, and always in want, revenue becomes the 1st object; and these Flemish, their only productive, provinces, must be drained and oppressed in every way.—That this and a few such houses should so long have divided and domineered over Europe, will perhaps be hardly credible to posterity. But this proud, needy Austrian race, the chief or head of the tedious European tyranny, will probably in time be exiled to America, with the Bourbon's, &c.—That was a fine and just opinion of Paine's, and will serve, with many others, to immortalize him, especially as the colonizing the *new* parts of the globe by the princes and nobles of the *old*, is a measure that will probably be adopted in due time; and will perhaps be the best or only way of restoring such spoilt people to their natural talents and utility.

But 'tis the tremendous disciplined armies of slaves of the two Imperial houses, *Austria* and *Russia*, which form now the object of attention, dread, and danger to Europe. The dissolution of these armies and empires (not by force, but reason) should now be the object of all the wise and good.

If J. B. is not more stupid even than usual, and irrecoverably gone in *corruption* of all kinds, he must soon see the *danger*, if not the *injustice*, of supporting and submitting to despotism thus at home.

home and abroad; particularly this combination of it in the North, which may soon divide or domineer all Europe:—and he must soon perceive our now natural alliance with France, as a republic, to be practicable, and far preferable to that with any royal and Bourbon government, at the fall of which he ought to rejoice, and prevent its restoration.—But he is probably now too stupid and corrupt, as yet a-while;—though perhaps not long. Though he has hitherto been always a slave, led, worked, or trampled upon, by the greatest of his own r——s or fools, he may now soon open his eyes:—surrounded with light and information, he will not be able to keep them shut:—he will be forced to read and think a little, and a very short way before his nose, he must perceive both old and new yokes strengthening and preparing for his stupid neck, through continental dependence, to which he has been of late blindly and insensibly led and tied.—If he can only learn to spell in politics, surely nothing can be easier to read than that he ought, as soon as possible, to join with France, America, Holland, Spain; and against this new combination 'till it is dissolved,—perhaps not by war, (which is seldom, if ever, necessary, except to weak M——s or Ministers with despotic views) but we should preach to them freedom and good government, till we prevail. Political science or justice will soon begin to be understood and attended to. Though the few wise are as yet every where (except America) in a minority, it cannot long be so: and while a few can exist, they must increase; such is the nature of truth. Though the European *canaille* may not yet be ripe for republican principles, yet they are not so far beneath them as their tyrants imagine. These principles are so evident and natural to all, that every man is presently turned—improved into a republican, so soon as he sees it possible; (all, except a few helpless creatures, spoilt princes and nobles, and their poor slavish dependents.) Though many of the present weak, corrupted, and lycophant races of both wealth and poverty seem now to incline and cling to despotism, which they foolishly fancy will best protect them and their *property*; they will soon be made to feel their mistake, and the folly of having either rich or poor; and might soon learn how easily both these extremes may be avoided.

That other position of *Paine's*,—that men are always ready for *freedom*, or at least for the management of their own affairs, public as private, may be true, and deserves a most candid attention.—Though some previous preparation, habits, or instruction, might be necessary to the people, all *that* might soon be given them, joined with practice, were their superiors once willing to let it be given: cures and preventatives would readily be found for all their ignorant violence, &c. All combinations of parts against the whole, probably can only be totally dispelled by a complete diffusion of knowledge and property, as equally to all

all as possible. The science of *elections* will then be generally understood, and will provide some gradual or ready remedy for every evil: The people will learn to replace the leaders who have erred, by those of contrary character and views;—to displace the violent, in due time, by the temperate and wise.

But how unwise for us to fly to extremes; and copy the follies of our enemies! Have we, too, yet to learn how inadequate are all the means of *force* to change or impede the opinions of men? either of friends or enemies. If men are inclined to believe in republican principles, it is not force, but reason, that can reclaim them. The usual effect of persecution on opinions is surely well enough known, to all but ———. However, the members of this new combination of tyranny and error will now probably go all lengths, and insensibly lead and keep each other in countenance through all sorts of oppression and villainy.—But still even *they* are perhaps to be persuaded;—at least we should try: the true philosopher should never despair of the powers of truth and reason; and if ministers cannot be philosophers themselves, they should employ or consult them;—till the time when both characters shall be in one, according to our wise Plato, again.

But *this war* certainly does and always did threaten to be much worse for us in every way, than that against Russia could ever have been, and something like the American war; and yet we seem much fonder of it. Whence this strange inconsistency?—The minister then thought the national voice against him,—(though neither he nor we have any certain measure or organ of that voice; our present parliament being plainly neither.)—But he might probably have gone on with *that* war as easily as with *this*;—J. B. being a very great and a malignant slave; and the minister having always power enough in his hands to do what he pleases with him, and make such things go down, to a certain pitch,—full as easily as at Constantinople. The public voice might have been easier raised against *this* war than *that*. The *arts*, which have been employed for the contrary and more difficult effects, ought not to have succeeded *at first*; but will most likely deceive and overfet their authors *at last*.—The public cannot long be so blinded.—In short, had we been wise and liberal enough to join the right side, in the French cause, all would now have been quietly settled, and without war, or blood, or combination of despots, and the poor king saved, &c. No nation had this in their power so much as we, nor ever lost so glorious an opportunity of doing so much good to the world.

Peace, and the closest national and individual connection, is even now, still practicable with France; and eligible and advantageous to both, and to Europe,—and therefore *our duty*: and such changes of sentiments are now producing in the world (if not too successfully and insidiously opposed by tyranny) as will facilitate the most intimate union, so much wanted, of many nations, and perhaps

perhaps at length of all.—But our poor French philosophers, and now representatives of all mankind, may be defeated, at present, from their ignorance and contempt of what is styled *politics*.—Few or no good politicians, or any statesman of their's (except Mirabeau) having yet appeared on their own theatre or any other, since their revolution began.—They might surely, by this time, have gained some allies in Europe; or at least have broken this villainous combination.—If not done soon, its members may gradually divide most of Europe among them, and thence domineer or dispose of the rest as they please.—*Russia* may take the Lion's share; perhaps Poland, and all N. of the Baltic, as *Sweden*, *Norway*, &c. *Prussia*, by degrees, all the rest of the S. shores of ditto,—to Denmark, &c. *Austria* may have most of *Italy* and *Greece*, &c. conquering and dividing the Turkish dominions in Europe among them and their dependents. Thence despotism becomes general,—till the 3 quarrel, and *Russia* probably at last remain the universal despot; and then, like the Roman empire, decline, through desolation,—and at length fall to pieces: which last is the natural renovation and salvation of mankind and society; and which wise men should therefore labour to promote and shew the folly and slavery, &c. of great empires and armies:—and the sooner the better. Their dissolution must probably soon follow the light of reason, as infallibly as it must the weakness of ignorance and barbarism: hence the assiduous propagation of reason and discussion becomes of such immense consequence, and in which the wise and good should and will incessantly labour, even in spite of our tory doctrine, or of any other spurious kinds of tyranny in disguise.

On viewing the old continent, as it is called, or larger half of this globe, we are naturally led back to contemplate its history and revolutions,—natural and moral; and to look forward to the cheerful prospect of its future recovery and improvement; and to indulge, with some philosophers, in fancy and conjecture, as well as fact:—as in supposing, with some observers, that this globe may have changed the position of its axis of rotation,—perhaps on its acquiring a satelite or moon;—and thence of its parts changing their climate, and lands into seas, and v.v. and its deluges, &c.—And thence the northern parts of Asia, being formerly more habitable, inhabited and improved; and some glimpses of history showing us a distant period of human life and nature, of science from thence, so very different from the present.—Or perhaps the slow and ultimate covering and discovering of its lands, by the sea moving W. against the shores of the globe turning E. leaving the eastern parts of Asia, now the most ancient. Hence the strata and composition, as well as surface of this globe, become such interesting speculations; but particularly every thing upon that surface; and more especially man, the lord of all, and the only improving species. Hence the

interest we feel in investigating the causes of his progress or decline;—of the active European character, and of the stationary stability of Asia, &c. Hence we are led to hope that these active powers of mind may be destined yet to liberate and improve, 1, themselves, and then the Asiatics;—by working, as it were, at both ends; perhaps chiefly through India, as well as Mediterranean, Black and Caspian Seas, &c. From mistaking his road, or from too much or too little haste, *man* remains, as yet, so far behind where he might have been:—but he may now again, as formerly in Greece, discover the *relative importance* of objects; and perceive that the human mind and its morality must be studied and improved, before he can advance much farther in any thing.—Thence the European nations may speedily improve—so as to join, at last, in the most liberal views;—as in promoting the general freedom, justice, and happiness among all mankind. As the madness of useless—destructive war may subside, some European congress of wisdom may yet settle themselves into a state of perpetual *peace* and *liberty*, and extend it through Asia, &c. And then we shall all be astonished, as usual, to find how easy a thing it is—to be wise, and to establish such a natural and happy state of society.

Alexander, with his army of polished and enlightened Greeks, conquering or rather colonizing and improving *Asia*, is perhaps the most interesting spectacle in history. The next step in the human progress may be the doing it by peace and wisdom. If our modern Eastern conquerors were oftener to ask themselves—what Alexander would have done in similar circumstances? the hist. and state of the East, and of mankind, might now exhibit a different and more improving aspect.

The contemplation of the *new* or younger continent is perhaps still more pleasing.—If we admit, with some philosophers, that human nature physically degenerates;—that the races of the *old* continent are long on the irrecoverable decline, and being now only the refuse of their own luxury and vices, are only fit for, and recoverable by, colonizing those distant countries; and for mixing with, and teaching and improving the new nations of S. America, &c. When men become more rational, this may be done with great advantage to all: and we may look forward to the pleasing idea of whole nations, yet wiser and more liberal than jesuits, forming and nursing up new and happy societies or races of men, on principles perhaps hitherto almost unknown, or disbelieved, or dimly perceived at a distance.—But admitting or not of human degeneracy, *colonization* must probably yet, in many ways, be of vast service to mankind, when well understood;—and must yet prove a great source of exertions, population, and improvements.

All this part of our globe should, and will in time, be divided into many maritime states;—the smaller the better;—but with the view of all of them enjoying the advantages of some coast
and

and rivers:—but the nations will probably all long be too large, owing to the natural size of, 1, France; 2, Spain; 3, Italy; 4, England, and, 5, the 17 provinces, or 3 rivers: as none of these five can properly be divided. However, as mankind improve, the difference of size, or of national divisions, will be of less importance, and the communication between them be gradually opened. We may go on to suppose the rest divided as follows: 6, the Ems and Weser one nation or state; 7, Hamburgh or the Elbe, another; then, 8, Denmark; 9, Norway; 10, Sweden; 11, Finland; 12 to 14, Russia into 4; 16, Livonia; 17, Poland; 18, Prussia; 19, Ucrain or Dnieper; 20, Moldavia or Niester; 21, Hungary or Danube; 22, Crimea; 23, 4, 5, round Black Sea; 26, 7, Greece; 28, Germany; 29, Swiss; 30, Anatolia; 31, Assyria; 32, Egypt; 33, Lybia; 34, Carthage; 35, Tingitania. All to be separate states, and some of them, perhaps, yet more subdivided, but freely open to each other: each communicating with the sea, and reaching inland, from the coast, to the sources of their longest rivers nearly; by which all the advantages of land and water will be secured to all; and all to be nearly similar governments, founded on *justice*.—which may thence be extended round the world.—The physical causes of climate, &c. are easily counteracted.—Great empires may be efficient, but not necessary, to civilize mankind; but when once civilized, they must divide again into smaller and more manageable divisions, in order to advance still farther.

Different congresses may then be occasionally formed, of any number of countries, for their mutual convenience, and sometimes one of all Europe, &c. according to any business or object that may concern them all,—as the general peace, or navigation, and communication, &c.—Nothing easier than such a division and system, in time;—when the reign of reason and justice shall be established. (See Fletcher.) The *people* of all countries will mutually assist each other, and soon fall upon the best methods of doing it, provided their governments meddle in it, as little as possible: hence governments must be constructed, controlled, with these essential views;—merely for negative duties,—as to prevent impediments, &c.

Such varied views of men and countries are necessary and of consequence:—though 'tis hard or impossible yet to foresee the duration of some human follies;—as how long men may yet contrive to torment themselves with the foolish ambition of extending each his own nation, i. e. the empire of their tyrants, or their own chains. The smaller any nation or state is, so much the better, seems a truth so obvious as must strike most people, at the first dawn of reason.—Where reason will now first appear,—whether in new or old nations, we know not yet enough to foresee. Happily that great and dangerous *Russian* empire must probably break into several, before the full mischief of such an

extensive combination can be produced. The philosophers should labour at these great objects. Reason is omnipotent, and the approach of her reign may be accelerated by our timely wisdom.—Had an Alfred or a Plato been legislators for the East, instead of a Confucius, Zoroaster, and Brama, and Mahomet,—Asia might have been thousands of years more advanced in the human progress—Perhaps the character of the Russian language and people, with their taste of music, &c. may furnish some profound philosophers with hints how to manage that too great empire;—and how to form them into smaller, happy districts, as they improve and become capable of governing themselves, (or perhaps a little before.)

Russia, by herself, is more than sufficiently tremendous, but joined (only) with *Austria*, against the *world* in its present condition, would be more than sufficient to ruin it, were it not for the advances of *reason*, in the mean time, while they are about it;—from which may be expected the *falling off* of their subjects and armies, distant dominions and allies: this having begun by *America*, will not stop there, at the command of a few foolish despots and aristocrats. People will not now long exert and exhaust themselves to support so foolish and pernicious a thing as a great nation, government, or empire: but especially a distant one, that can only drain or oppress, and never assist or be of service to them.

Prussia, but loosely (and indeed wrong) connected in this combination, may soon *fall off* from it:—then she might perhaps be purchased, for a while, to help the maritime powers to bring to reason, and take to pieces, those great internal empires, becoming now comparatively barbarous, with their tremendous armies of slaves;—and then *Prussia* may fall to pieces herself, being luckily rather an ephemeral sort of power.

'Tis permanence that retards and ruins the human species and progress. Foolish man, attempting to make his follies eternal, loses—destroys half his own powers and happiness. His superstitious desire of immortality makes him wish and believe so many things to be made *immortal*, which would be much better *temporary*! and the possessors of any *power* or *wealth* are perfect pests of society, with their passion for permanence, &c.—(which shows that neither power nor wealth belong to man.)—When the forming and reforming of armies and combinations comes to be sufficiently simplified, and readily done by the people themselves, as occasions may require, they may then live and improve in *real security*, as depending on themselves:—but will still act, in their public capacity, (daily less wanted) under the direction of *leaders* of their own appointing;—but whose delegated *power* and *temptation* to err, must ever be a *minimum*; and who must be *watched*, in proportion to these powers and temptations.

But

But happily despotism may probably now soon be defeated without armies or war:—1, perhaps by mere direct dint of reason on some of the sovereigns;—or, 2, by opening the eyes of their subjects and armies; or, 3, (if still insufficient) by lending these a sufficient support, when quite ready, against their tyrants: and in such cases, of great majority, the whole may be settled without war or bloodshed. This doctrine, despots, fools, and slaves, will endeavour to cry down; but it will probably now extend and stand its ground, as the people open their eyes, and will yet liberate mankind.—'Tis high time.—when despots combine against the people. In the reign of reason, we shall also see that freedom, justice, arts, knowledge, civilization, must come, from the coasts, into the internal countries; and not in the contrary direction, as often hitherto attempted, and as ignorant Power, with his armies of rude slaves or mountaineers, is apt to imagine.—Indeed, during the present debauched, commercial, sordid state of mind of the maritime powers, with their ill-divided wealth, selfish avidity, &c. the difficulties of sufficiently uniting them are great, but not insuperable: they have only to admit of free communication and education:—and thence they will soon be led to discover the truths of this little book;—one of which is—that men's *ideas of property* must be totally changed, before they can improve much farther.—The proper modes, order, and velocity of these changes, are now the problems to be solved by thought and experience.

Spain, while under a Bourbon government, will never coalesce well with us; (so that we are every way now wrong in our politics)—especially with our present foolish system of maritime dominion, and thence our inevitable and offensive insolence and injustice, &c.—Reviving the Spanish ideas of their *cortes* and *representation*, would secure us their friendship, with their own freedom and prosperity.—Her armies cannot probably ever again be formidable. The modern folly of *naval power*, into which she has been led by a jealousy of *ours*, (as one fool makes many) may probably, by its enormous expence, ruin her present stupid and oppressive government, and thence afford the usual opportunities of reforming and renovating it.—The blind or wilful stupidity of our present policy, it may surely be hoped, cannot last long.—Though *reason* should yet be unequal to cope with *despotism*, in Europe; yet, by giving him rope, i. e. *war* enough, he will probably soon destroy himself.

The mixed, complicated, balanced systems of government and policy seem yet to prevail, with many who pretend to think; as with our Neckars, Adams, Burkes, &c.; though Tacitus and English experience have sufficiently shewn that such systems cannot last. One, or some combination, of the balancing parts must always soon overpower the rest. A perpetual contest of bodies or classes of men, is impossible.—But while such ideas or systems prevail

prevail any where, they deserve some attention; and their duration, it thence behoves the deepest thinkers and observers to consider; and to estimate if truth and simplicity in policy can be made to succeed to error and complication, with the next, or with the 2d or 3d generation, and to direct their labours accordingly. —Many have an idea of a certain quantity of corruption, error, or vice, being a *necessary* part in the human character, and belonging to all their affairs; and is to be cured or diminished only to a certain limit: and though none can yet see, fix, or mark out that limit, they can hardly yet be persuaded to move or consider out of sight.

Our present *wise men* may not be up to the mediocrity of $\frac{1}{2}$ century hence; and the deepest wisdom of to-day may then be considered as barbarous nonsense; and especially upon the most essential subjects, as those of policy, religion, man, &c. This begins already to be more than mere surmise, on seeing the authors of the present vogue insisting upon the greatness of empire,—the number and complication of laws and law-books,—certain progressions in superstition and slavery,—sordid commerce and useless or injurious accumulation,—a slavish, brutifying industry,—all as 1st-rate political objects, and to be considered as the marks and measure of our highest improvement;—whereas it begins to appear highly probable, that the contrary of all these will soon be found to be nearer the truth; and that man, from his present summit of complication, vice and error, must again descend towards simplicity, virtue, and truth,—if he is really to improve, and discover his utmost happiness, which is surely probable at least.—Such is likely to be the march of the human mind, though as yet foreseen or suspected by so few. He will at once learn to simplify every subject, and to embrace a much greater number of them;—will learn to detect tyranny and falsehood in all their complications, &c. If his *rational* can learn to prevail over his *animal* nature, only in most and the most essential cases in a majority of any society; the consequences are numerous, and not yet to be half foreseen;—*force, punishment, war*, may thence terminate in time. Our *friendships, gratitude, promises, contracts, governments*, though doubtless now good and necessary in society, may diminish, and become even pernicious, as they become less necessary;—though they can never be positive evil, till they run into some extreme, and change their nature and name.

Let us take another sort of station and view of man.—Does he over or under-rate himself and his own importance in this universe? or on this globe?—It would probably go on, round the sun, &c. though he were annihilated from it,—drowned, or burnt on its surface. We must be contented, like other reptiles, to cling to the spots of it yet above water, divide ourselves, and communicate according to the casual shapes of those spots, as formed

formed by seas, rivers, mountains.—That such societies should be small for the most important purposes of our happiness, and large for others, is also probable; though we are yet but in infancy as to these matters.—When man becomes wise enough to try to make the best of his fate, and to see his way, he may perceive an endless progress, before him:—he may learn to distinguish and properly employ his *individual* and his *social* powers, —as hinted above:—when to work alone, and when in co.—Such a discovery will save him from slavery, and from a great waste of powers.—By discovering the sources of his errors;—by consciousness and reflection on the operations of his own mind and those of nature, he will commence a progress which may terminate in directing his own operations aright, and thence perhaps those of the whole world.—If this globe may be supposed to belong to man, for the support of his wants;—if he is perhaps at once one of the productions and the lord of it,—the only improving—rational species upon it;—in every case the right of *property* is equally in all, and in each human being.—But yet none of his little individual labour in directing any of the trivial parts of the immense circle of production, can change the just destination of the produce, from the channel of eternal justice;—as from general to individual property. Hence no regulation of his can invert the eternal nature and destination of things; though he may discover and improve them all,—by assisting, but not by counteracting nature.—If there is no appeal from the public voice, (nor any remedy against her errors, but by her own self-instruction) then we all hold every thing of the public will,—every thing is her property, and held by her permission: and though she, and every thing in this universe, is bound by eternal *necessity* and *justice*,—yet whenever she is so blind as not to see *that* justice, and so ignorant as to admit of needless inequalities,—of injustice and private property; there is no remedy but by general instruction and knowledge, to return to justice and equality, as fast as compatible with the least evil and greatest good to man in general.—Let us beware of the prescriptions and advice of despotism and superstition, for they are all quackeries. In this process, to know the next step, is always the first and difficult object. It is now probably *information* or instruction, general, to all: the 2d, may be—a free *circulation* of all property; and the 3d, *leases* of it, for lives, held of the public, where it belongs:—and 4, in time the *community* of all property, as far as possible and convenient, according to the eternal laws of justice.—This doctrine should be perpetually presented to the human mind, and in all possible forms.—One of the few remaining difficulties in this progress may be to settle the proper *size* of this public, whose voice or opinion is to decide upon whatever concerns the whole of it: members, when necessary:—whether, and when, it should be a parish, or a nation,

tion, &c. Perhaps the smallest possible, and to keep every question from extending farther than necessary, may be two of the best rules,—(and which Alfred seems to have perceived.) Indeed, in a just and natural state of society, where men improved in individual happiness and moral perfection, there would be little to do for a public mind, or general government, and probably an end be put to most of *law*, and to those frequent appeals from smaller to greater tribunals. At present, men have only a choice among evils,—of a lesser, to replace a greater, and which they often mistake and reverse;—as in applying *law*, an evil, to supply the place of *justice*, a real good. When the lord shall be forced to sell his estate to the fellow he formerly despised, who supplied his servants with small beer, it will only be a sort of partial, not complete, justice;—only a step in the progress before mentioned.

Nearly the same questions and differences still divide philosophers and thinkers as formerly in Greece:—as whether it is by *mind* or *mechanism*, by *soul* or mere organization, that *thought* and other of the human phenomena are produced?—Whether all will not gradually become thought or mind, or whether the operations we call *mind*, be not the mere result of *motion*,—of mechanical combination?—But since all see that these phenomena *are* produced, it might be expected that men could go on together, and often agree in the effects and consequences to be thence deduced, whatever be the nature, the dark origin, or first cause, which we can never probably know. —However, at least two different systems of society seem thence to succeed to many others, and now threaten to divide the theorists, and even the French legislators, &c. These may be styled *organizers* and *disorganizers*. Though both consider individual happiness as the object of society, they seem to differ widely in the means of attaining it:—the one, by means of wise laws and constitutions; and the other, by the gradual abolition of all these. The 1st supposes that only wise institution can produce wisdom, exertion, happiness, and a body politic;—that the public *will*, wisdom, or sensorium, is to proceed from that organization, and to govern that body.—The other alleges, that only individual exertions can procure individual happiness, and better if unclogged with law or institution, which, proceeding from the vices of man, contribute only to his perpetual slavery,—to impede his natural progress and improvement, which requires his total, though gradual emancipation from all external restraint, and to be left to the guidance of his own mind, by which he is to be led and improved to a far greater degree of perfection than any other system had yet supposed.—This cheerful, animating view of our perpetual *perfectibility* seems to go beyond, and comprehend all the former views, and to promise most success: and in this, both these systems may be found partly to agree, and both to contain

contain perhaps certain portions of truth, which may be collected and corrected, reconciled, and added to the increasing heap, by future investigators.—The freedom of discussion will be found ultimately to produce real knowledge and unanimity among men: and let us beware of all species of disguised despotism, that would persuade us to the contrary; and indeed mankind will probably now soon laugh at and trample over such injurious nonsense as now heard supported, by usurpation and pretended superiors; by absurd press regulations, or laws of libels;—and by stupid—vitiating proprietors; sycophant and official lawyers, who dare to attack the sacred liberty of the press, and whose opinion (if punishable) would often deserve punishment much more than the people they presume to condemn;—their opinions, and those of a P., are exactly on a footing in the eye of justice, (though the latter is rather more respectable)—but wisdom or justice would punish neither, but weigh both, and treat them, perhaps, with nearly equal contempt.

The attempt to persuade us that any book can be *dangerous*, or do harm, where there is liberty to answer, is an artful, but still too bare-faced, an absurdity to pass long upon the most ignorant.—People do not act from books. The Bible, the Koran, and Bedäns or Shasters, are probably the only books that have done much more harm than good; and merely from the want of *that* liberty. In a state of sufficient freedom, and thence of knowledge, they would soon have been written down to their intrinsic worth, and mankind have been left to their natural progression, probably with a celerity not now easily conceivable.

This necessary and perpetual human progression, or *perfectibility*, may not yet be clear to all, from its having been hitherto so apparently slow, and vibratory, though visible enough to attention;—but the future part of it will probably be still more accelerated and palpable. Though the 1st ten or twelve centuries of the Xtian æra, for ex. were on the whole, almost all apparently to us, one entire decline; yet the few centuries, since the art of printing, exhibit a visible renovation and advance: (for the amazing distance between the savage and civilized state, see Godwin's Helvetius, &c.) It is not so probable now that a stupid religion, or barbarous conquest, should again or so long impede the operations of the human faculties: and though *despotism*, still on the watch, seems to threaten, and may find other means and tools to work with, as sycophants, and sophistry, in various shapes, &c. yet his now numerous and enlightened opponents,—science, freedom, truth, thinkers, with their books, will probably be more alert and powerful than ever; and either gradually, or at once, defeat all his attempts, dissolve his armies, &c.

The *causes* of events are much worth tracing; though generally yet too complicated and concealed for human perception.

At yet men have seldom begun to be liberated by philosophers, though they have, in a few instances, been afterwards directed by their knowledge, and may in future be both.—It has generally been from oppression,—from being squeezed into resistance and exertion, that men have begun to acquire those powers by which they thence, through liberty and science, rose to eminence.—It seems, as if reason alone were not yet sufficient to move man to action, for which it therefore seems necessary he should first be made to *feel*, were it only to call his attention;—but it may be otherwise in the future part of his history,—with increasing sensibility and reason;—or when he may discover feeling, sensation, and reason, to be all the same thing, and shall have simplified this and many other of the objects of thought far within the then increasing sphere of his comprehension. Revolutions are already much sooner and easier produced than formerly. Wisdom seems to say to the people,—You are a great majority, governed—led by a few spoiled tyrants;—why do you suffer it? Elect some few honest and wise men among ye, and direct them to discover the best remedies to the most of your evils, and to do the least harm, and the best methods for their discovery and application, &c.

But we are dispersed, bound, and ignorant, and cannot even set about what you advise, without some power or assistance to untie our hands and minds, and to set and keep open the doors and windows for our gradual communication, light, and deliverance.—W. That is most of it—fancy: we will teach ye to do all that for yourselves;—which consists in nothing more than in your *willing* or *choosing* it.—P. Yes, once we can communicate, determine, and unite minds, or wills enough to try, we shall probably succeed, and lay open all the different doors of our confinement, &c. but the gaining that number of necessary minds is the difficulty. You will discover and teach us the best ways of going about it; and must see that these are probably various, as with times and circumstances; and that your present disciples, each confined to his own little way, are insufficient, till you can unite them into one or more heads; and that something more is yet required to move a majority to action, besides preaching and reason;—and you see we are preached to, in both or opposite directions; some advising us to walk out, and others to sit still;—some to virtue and our remote or permanent interests; others to vice and our immediate or apparent interests; and it seems yet doubtful which party or disposition will prevail in or on the human character.—W. Oh, certainly truth, permanence, and virtue visibly gain ground upon fleeting—transient vice and error; and you only fancy it doubtful, because hitherto slow in its progress, as apparent to your ignorance, and compared to the life of man; but its march will soon be more visible, for several reasons. However, it is perhaps right that most men should

should yet wait to be convinced, by some kind of experiment as well as reason, before they venture to act: most of them wait too long,—all except some of these violent—eruet French, who blindly fancy perfection within the reach or snatch of ignorant, brutal force, and who seem to be forcing experiments on dubious or false principles, by which those of truth will be injured in the rebound of the failure; and by which they disgust instead of gaining profelytes;—but let us ever recollect and repeat the great good they have already done, and our hope that they will lose only the least valuable and lukewarm friends to liberty,—the weak, or prejudiced, or half-informed;—and that even *their* experiments will serve to confirm the wise in the practicability of these principles when in better hands;—that when the reign of reason arrives, men will move upon truth and theory, and go without the crutches of old blind practice.

Among the numerous follies of human institution, mere repeal and abolition will often be wisdom, and sufficient, though not always. Some temporary supplement for the part taken down will often be necessary:—nor is it yet to be expected that all men should agree in the parts to be repaired, or entirely removed, or in the velocity of innovation, &c. Let them begin by trying to fix limits; to keep within, 1, the nonsensical ideas of wealth and power, viz. that men can remain *stationary*, which we have shewn to be as impracticable as to make them live for ever; and, 2, the hasty changes required by the poor, the foolish and ignorant, which are often destructive, though not near so much as dreaded by the other party. Wisdom seems then to consist in finding the proper medium, and in providing so that there shall be neither poor nor ignorant, nor too wealthy nor powerful.

From war, force, law, govt., man will probably be liberated gradually as he shall deserve or become capable of freedom:—perhaps a little before he is quite capable, would be best. By detaining him too long in leading strings, he becomes incapable of going alone; but still he must be tried, and must learn. When or where this point of liberation is always to begin; which of the laws or institutions come next in order for abolition or improvement, &c. will always be difficulties (though decreasing) and require practical wisdom;—but that wisdom is probably always to be found, or soon formed, somewhere in the society itself:—the true mode of producing and collecting it seems to be all that is wanting. The mode of collecting it is probably by *election*, of some kind, a science which therefore deserves, we must repeat, to be assiduously studied and improved; (hereditary wisdom being already condemned as obviously absurd.)—The choice, time and number most favorable for the chances of wisdom;—when to employ the individual, and when the collective or corporate kinds;—when the invention and activity of the one, and when the passive, cool judgement of the other; how to make the right

temporary uses of co-operation, and bodies of men, and yet evade their inherent vices ;—these are difficulties sufficient to exercise and create wisdom, whenever the field is thrown open to free exertion.

The proud and ignorant aristocracy, attempting to laugh at the philosophers with their democracy or equality, is like *Pullcinello* awkwardly attempting to ridicule *Harlequino* ;—'tis ignorance trying to " make a mock of learning,"—(rather common with J. B.) Indeed it is very difficult to advise a wretched proud nobility what to do, till they can pick up courage and liberality enough to be reconciled to their present bug-bears, *equality* and *justice* ; and shall learn, that without these, there can be no right society nor true happiness.—However, there have already appeared several of that class, both in France, and Poland, &c. readily reconciled to these principles, and even become champions in their cause. Let us hope that many more of them may yet every where become capable of such and of greater efforts.

It is melancholy to see how few of *us* can yet remain sufficiently neuter or impartial in any great question,—till it is decided ;—or can keep within the injurious extremes of intemperate party zeal, or of doubtful principles. Even *English* political moderation, now so clearly the path of wisdom, the former moderate men seem now to forsake, and to lose their temper when most wanted ; though the part of wisdom be visibly to avoid the extremes of the haughty, silly, and now blasted pretensions of aristocracy, as well as those of the enraged reformer of every evil at once, (though this last is the most respectable character and intention of the two :)—yet within these limits,—a man may now wander alone.

The few wise must now foresee two inevitable events, viz, 1, that the aristocracy, or mode of leading mankind, must soon, throughout Europe, change hands, or arts, or both ; and, 2, that there must soon be a change of both men and measures here,

1. As the general mind or voice, in the inevitable consequences of knowledge, begins to see through and condemn the method of distinction by *birth*, and will d— in the star, the riband, cross, or robe, &c. the wise of the noblest blood (if any remain) will join in trampling them out of sight, and will assume the manners and principles of a Brutus, or Cato, or even of a Diogenes,—or of the *gueux*, &c. if found necessary. This has been partially attempted in modern times, and with proportional success ;—and where it failed, was plainly owing to the spoilt, proud, or incomplete character of modern nobility,—from their want of true stoicism, science, and sentiments of equality. The succeeding mode of distinction, by *election*, may also prove rather insufficient for a time, till perfected by practice. The vulgar and violent may continue to elect each other,—till they cease to be vulgar and violent : armies and nations may fail at first in the method of
getting

getting at the *aristoi* or best;—and the people may be incapable, for a while, of sufficiently submitting even to the authority or leading of their own choice. The Roman people long voluntarily preferred *patricians* to themselves, and had these their nobility known how to descend to the real pleasures of equality, like the order of *Cincinnatus* in America, Rome, and thence perhaps the world, might have been free and republican at this day. —Rational popularity must now be courted by real merit: the well-born, with an equal share, would yet have the advantage;—but not long, unless they learn more wisdom, from America, or, &c. to catch and fall in with the spirit or stream of the day. When men and society are carried into great intellectual exertions, Washingtons, Hamiltons, Knoxes, Mirabeaus, &c. must fall into their places, by com. consent.—But brute force, violence, or war, (in any cause, except that clearly for defence) must injure all in every way; and thence the oldest *aristocracy*, fighting against freedom, inevitably falls beneath the *plebeian* race in the public estimation, and becomes even disgraceful, as formerly in Italy, and now in France, &c.—The kind of wisdom or sagacity most wanted in these days, seems to be that which discovers readily—*what will do*; as that of a Cromwell, and a Franklin,—till *positive* virtue and science shall supersede the *relative*.—Had the 1st French national assembly possessed a little more of this kind of wisdom, with their great science and liberal sentiments, they might have foreseen and evaded most of the subsequent misfortunes.

2. It is also obvious that a change of m——y will soon be necessary and inevitable here too,—were it only from our present national, selfish, and changeable turn of mind;—and from the losses, hardships, oppressions, taxes, cruelties, &c. of various kinds, the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of this *war of persecution*, more than of any other;—especially as some on both sides seem wickedly bent on retaliating, like school-boys, on each other, and cruelly aggravating the already too tremendous evils of war;—thus misery goes on augmenting, like the snow-ball; and the very remedies of foolish and malevolent *man* are only fresh aggravations of his evils. Even peace, when he gets it, may be sullied with sacrifices; and he may still be silly enough to fancy some remedy in revenge,—in the fall of the supposed authors of foolish or vindictive measures, &c.—and lucky if the present races and tempers of men and majorities can be satisfied with a *few* such (though needless and useless) sacrifices.—Perhaps the authors of the war—of alien and treachery laws, &c. can hardly expect to escape;—nor the offenders against intellectual freedom and the *sacred press*;—(that is, if no sufficient symptom of their recantation should appear in time;—a degree of hypocrisy, of which, however, some of them are known to be capable: and *it will do*, most probably: men cannot—must not yet

yet be too difficult with each other about the secret *motives* to good actions.) Discontents will ist probably appear in our towns, among workmen, tradesmen, manufacturers, merchants, &c.) and thence extend to the country.) And when the discontents shall produce the outcry for *peace*, if the timid, yet insolent, combination of aristocracy or property should attempt to oppose it by *force*, and not know how to give way in due time, they will probably be overlet, as in France, and much mischief ensue:

This nation and Holland, growing gradually less fit for war, can only recover by *peace* and *reform*; and 'tis doubtful if their present remains of wisdom and energy be equal to that or to any mode of recovery, till some considerable change be produced in their governments or constitutions.

Also, as with the American war, &c. a peace *must* come (and generally sooner than expected by those in power) and this kind of m——y cannot make it, now more than formerly; for they have not now, and will in future still less have, the necessary confidence, at home and abroad; but will then be considered as a Tory, tyrannical set,—very fit to be turned out.

We ought, probably, to begin the reform or improvement of the human species by bringing up the other sex nearer equality to us in physical, moral, and intellectual powers,—in every thing practicable and useful. Perhaps nothing shews clearer the infancy of the human race, than the yet domineering spirit of the male over the female sex. This species have yet got so little way before the other animals, as hardly to be above being jealous of some of them.—In short, we are yet a cruel and destructive race, and have extirpated many whole species from this earth, both animal and vegetable, when possible. Some think we are still retrograde; and have done more harm than good on this globe.—But when we shall once begin to make a palpable progress, in the right direction,—or discover the true path, all of reason and beneficence, perhaps we may then help to form or produce *new* species, and improve the *old*,—but chiefly the *mind* of man,—perhaps, 1st, by means of wise institution; or, as some think, without any, but by operating directly on the individual mind.—We shall then properly place, assist, divide, and instruct each other, gradually, all round the globe, which may then be so improved and beautified by virtue, reason, and taste, as to be worth coming to see or observe from other planets;—for modes of such communication may then be discovered. In short, we shall probably do many wonders which can hardly now be thought of: we shall do whatever may be found to contribute to the increase of happiness.

Our numerous travellers, who can publish and sell all their trifles, serve to show the frivolous spirit of the times.—Why do not men of genius and true philosophers travel, and publish their observations and reflections,—few and important?—chiefly of *men*, and less on *things*?—But are there now any people on this globe, much worth knowing?—Every where the shocking extremes of an idle, debauched *nobility* or gentry, and a miserable, ignorant, laborious *people* of slaves.—And how few periods of history worth our study! What parcels of foolish animals have nations—mankind hitherto generally been!—only a few republican periods worthy attention. Those of *Greece* and *Rome*, and a few of the modern republics;—our own (only) when roused to resistance by the tyranny and folly of a race of royal idiots, the *Stewarts*:—for we sunk again into mere *Capadoceans*, with the return of royalty.—Though some men of genius, as a *Voltaire*, &c. may extract a few sad lessons from the vices and follies of ignorant periods and people, past and present, it is but an unpleasant and circuitous way of learning the right road,—to be shewn so many ways where we should not go:—even the catalogue of past vices and follies would be too voluminous. The straight road to truth will save much trouble, and thence leave us numerous and improveable powers to spare for better purposes than for most of our present learning and labour.

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But though as yet a melancholy prospect, we must repeatedly, and from different points of view, take many surveys of this world, as the necessary steps in its improvement.—On considering the old and new continent, we see the one, till very lately, inhabited mostly by savage nature; and most of the other by barbarians and slaves; and only a corner of it, called Europe, by children.—Yes, the European nations are, as yet, only so many families of spoilt children, and led, of late, by the most childish nation of us all.—But we are probably now on the way to *manhood*,—if not too often brought back by tyranny, of various and new kinds.—Some still think that the operations of human advances and decline to be only vibratory, within a certain limit or circle formed by their inevitable vices, errors, and animality.—Others insist that we advance in a perpetual *progression* or chain, of which every event, with its previous causes, form the parts or links; and that all the limits may be moved,—out of sight.—It seems of importance to settle which is the true case, and to direct our endeavours accordingly. Different classes, as the wealthy, powerful, successful, vote for the former and oldest opinion, from mere ignorance or stupidity, or in the vain hope of eternal, tyrannical, but impossible, stability: the few thinkers, only, espouse the latter and newest opinion, and hence the most probable. There may be some *truth* in both, though most in the latter; or she may lie between them, though nearest to this.—The human species is clearly capable of a *progression*, and which seems as yet at least *indefinite*: though the whole of it may consist of heterogeneous parts,—of vibrations and deviations in all directions, as hinted above.—The thinkers and observers will probably now investigate these and other important questions: and when they gain the people to their side, (hitherto enslaved to the other party)—the work is done,—for the right progress is then begun.

There are certain superior national characters, viz. those of, 1, *Italy*, and, 2, *Spain*, and perhaps yet of, 3, *Greece*, who may probably again lead the rest.—When *Italy* shall have done domineering the world, 1st, by arms, and then by superstition, she may recover, and shew her superior sense, in ruling by *reason* and *taste*, in which she will then instruct the rest of mankind.—Even the *languages* of those nations, still so superior, and adapted to these and to all objects, may one day be a sufficient reason for their having the lead in many things, by common consent.—The organs, once habituated to those languages, so clear, strong, beautiful, can never again relish the barbarous *tramontani* sounds, nor feel any of their awkward and affected attempts at eloquence, but with a certain disgust, or a blush.—This circumstance of language will be of more importance, than may now appear, when nations become equalized, in other things, by the reign of reason.—Then, 4, *Russia*; 5, *Sweden*; 6, *England*; 7, *France*; 8, *Ger-*

8, Germany; with their languages, will fall into their ranks and places, according to their different genius and utility to the whole, and to each other; but in the great paths of the sublime,—of true taste and genius, they will all freely follow their leaders on the Mediterranean shores.

J. B., (6) as yet a mere journeyman character, has, however, some good stuff in him, (as he himself would say, in his best manner.) He may supply other nations with some excellent workmen, and several manufactures, but with little else that can yet be foreseen,—till he shall improve his mind and his government, and recover his intellectual powers. He may then supply them with some wisdom; for he can reason powerfully, though hitherto mostly *wrong-headed*. But with the natural discretion and simplicity of his true journeyman character,—both of himself and his language, he might now follow, imitate and greatly assist other nations;—but in assuming originality, or to be the *master* or leader, in his present state of ignorance and borrowed plumage, he spoils all, and becomes at least ridiculous.—If he attempts to dictate his present commercial, military or political nonsense to other countries, (of which he is so remarkably ignorant)—or to cram his old rotten constitution down their throats; the best that can be hoped is his being laughed at for a fool:—but if he grow insolent, and insist too much and too far, and should continue to fancy he can swagger and domineer over all, and even over the waves and seas; then he must expect to be exterminated, as a madman, and his islands to be again colonized from the continent, as some wise men have already told him, in books, &c.—But when he learns to *read* and to *think*, 'tis hoped he may reform, and become more modest and wise, and improve his old broken *constitution*, which is the 1st and most essential object to him. And there is probably wisdom enough to be found for *that* purpose: let him only investigate the best methods of finding or forming it (probably by *election*).—And then he must be wise enough not to spoil his members or his govt. by giving them too much power, either in quantity or duration. In his choice, the *motives*, more than the *men*, are of importance. With motives to well-doing, sufficiently incessant, of the right kind and quantity, and the fewest possible to evil, almost any members, ministers, or magistrates, will answer his purpose.—The constitution and arrangement of his affairs plainly want mending, whatever lyes and deceptions his stewards and servants may contrive and tell him to the contrary.—Their having contrived to triple his public expences in the space of 30 years, (from 1754 to 1784) is a fact which indubitably shows that something is wrong, and that 'tis high time to set about discovering the causes and the remedies: and he must go about it with temper and resolution; and not be provoked at his *servants* insolently telling him, that they are his *masters*, and not even his *representatives*,

—and that they know better than he himself what he likes and wants, &c.—He must not be offended at such silly impertinence: he will coolly and calmly determine to chuse other servants, who will observe his directions, or will at least consult with him, till they understand each other and the business in hand; and which they will then set about to accomplish, gradually and without violence, — repairing and renewing where necessary; — leaving his constitution and every thing open to its natural progression; — aware of impossible or tyrannical stability, and of the imprudence of placing his servants or agents again in a situation to be tempted to betray their trust, or usurp the power of masters.

The right of *sovereignty* in the *people*, (for whom govt. must be intended,) it will be imprudent—folly and madness to deny; —only a proper *channel* seems wanting, in which it may quietly flow. They must probably elect electors, and these elect others, &c. somewhat in the manner proposed by Hume, and the French lately, and now practised and trying in different countries.—This science of *election* and *representation* must be more discussed here. It begins to be egregiously misunderstood or misrepresented by our Tories, &c.—To ascribe the misfortunes of France to personal representation, is very ignorant, malicious and nonsensical. These have been chiefly owing to their being attacked, and not being yet permitted to finish or to try their progressive experiments and constitutions.—No just laws can be expected from a partial legislature, composed of any class; as where only a foolish K—, or a few proprietors, legislate for the whole.—Justice will require and provide some equitable mode of *all* having their proper influence in making the laws which concern *all*. So that *personal* representation (and not of *property*) becomes doubly necessary, and as a 1st principle, in the science of govt. Only from such partial legislations could proceed such black books of crimes and punishments as hitherto seen in the world;—such long lists of multiplying offences,—of fancied treasons, libels,—the debasing, heart-breaking imprisonment of innocence, of debtors, &c. &c.—Most of the present cruel catalogue of crimes, invented by timid usurpation and bloody despotism, will be gradually cancelled from the code of justice and humanity. Under the present erroneous system of property, the non-proprietors must at length become law-givers, (perhaps for the whole, if not well managed) were it only from their superior and still growing number and proportion.—In our present proprietors supposing the possibility of supporting this system of injustice, by *force*, consists their chief error, the source of many others;—and in fancying that it is only by their parcel of foolish laws that we are restrained from robbing, plundering, and destroying each other and ourselves by excesses.—How society governs itself, few of our *foi distant* superiors knew, before they were told by
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the sagacious Paine, &c. 'Tis plain that Europe must gradually become entirely republican. The same principles and motives that operated in ancient Greece, N. America, &c. will prove equally effectual here, when brought to act.—The gradation of wisdom would make the change pleasant to all. The danger and destruction, now so over-dreaded, can proceed only from the hasty and foolish fury and violence of the parties; and this chiefly from the super-added injustice of needless insolence in the present (probably unjust) possessors and accumulators of the wealth and power of society. The people might be gently directed by patience and reason (but not impeded or stopped short) in the path of inevitable innovation. But our foolish Tories are trying needlessly to provoke and insult the most valuable lower classes, by treating and considering them as *animals* instead of *rational*s;—so unwisely snatching all hopes and information from before their opening eyes; and telling them plainly (when too late) that they are condemned to eternal ignorance and drudgery;—attempting to drive them by brute force, instead of leading them by reason and persuasion:—and sinking them already into the lowest abyss and meanest office of slavery, viz. forcing them to *condemn* and *punish* their own *benefactors*.—On their ignorant Tory principles, nothing short of the extermination of one of the parties, can answer their absurd and impossible purpose, viz. of enjoying the wealth of the world in all the brutifying ease and indolence of what they call *security*.

The remedies may here also be classed into two, viz. 1, into such as may facilitate the acquisition of just sufficient wealth and power, or consideration; and, 2, whatever may diminish the desire for more than sufficient, (which last may be done without diminishing the human exertions and energies, but by changing and improving them.) This may also be called working at both ends of the difficulty. Under 1st head may be arranged all the modes or motives that tend to a proper distribution of the necessary quantity of property and power; as by division of inheritances, free circulation of all property and of most offices, and thereby increasing the number of proprietors,—till we arrive at a *community*, which will include the whole.—In 2, may be included all the moral and political institutions, instruction, education, which, we already know, can produce and improve such powers and passions in the mind as to supersede all the little selfish desires of accumulation, &c.—And this may soon be carried beyond all our present ideas of practicability.

The *supposed* 500 millions of British property, *supposed* to be raised or created chiefly by *avarice*, might equally have been raised without it (if necessary) by other powers and passions; and might certainly have been better *distributed*, which is of far more consequence than the *quantity*, of which we have no proper measure or standard.

A rapid circulation may be the best source of taxation and revenue;—and *peut-être tan pis*. The least revenue possible;—or perhaps the impossibility of raising any, may be compatible with the best or happiest state of society.—Such things require and awaken thought and investigation.—No occasion should escape of showing the present infant state of our political knowledge.

That which seems most wanting now, is wisdom and temper sufficient to avoid aggravating, provoking, increasing injustice and animosity between parties, already too violent and inveterate: and at length learning to dissolve all *parties* into general and individual *reason* and *justice*. This can be done only by promoting *discussion*, and restraining of *action*: these two must go together, and be made reciprocally to assist each other.

The French and their revolution, for ex., which now fill and over-heat all minds, should be freely discussed by all, as well as our own public affairs. Nothing else can bring us into sufficient temper and coolness, but the conversing together, reading, writing freely on every subject.—If any nation be yet qualified to assist another, internally, it might have been expected by the French now from the English and Americans,—first by advice;—never by force or violence; and still less by assiduous intrigue and subornation, secretly to oppose their freedom, success, and prosperity; and by bribing misleaders to create confusion, &c.—nor by the old Tory policy of conquering their sugar-islands, or more territory, merely for more means of corruption and sources of future wars: nor by attempting to take, *keep*, or destroy their great ports and fleets, to cripple them from being a naval power, that J. B. may ride the seas alone, in empty and insolent triumph,—all to create only jealousy and resentment, at an insupportable expence.—We may surely hope that political morality may, in time, be brought nearer to the principles of justice; and national to resemble or surpass individual wisdom.

Yes, there are symptoms and hopes that *justice* is most natural to man, and may yet prevail in the world. In every contest, public or private, the justest side, even now, gains the *best*, though not the *most*, friends: as in every law-suit, or prosecution and persecution;—as in the cause of the Swiss against Austria,—of the Dutch against Spain,—of N. America against England,—and now of France against despotism;—these 1st have always had the *few* really learned, liberal and wise on their side; and *that few*, by their now visible increase and influence, will gradually become the majority. *Defenders* in war have this and several other advantages, especially in the cause of freedom. They generally rise, gradually, in vigour of mind,—in discipline, troops, supplies, &c. while their enemies, from a distance, sink and decline in all these, (and which the defenders may assiduously increase upon them.)—And hence ignorant despotism is probably now beating

beating out his own brains against the strengthening walls of justice and philosophy.

In the composition of the French character, viz. of *tyger* and *monkey*, (according to Voltaire, &c.) the world are surprized to find the *ist*, the *tyger*, prevail so eminently; or that a few of these should be able to *lead* or *drive* all the rest:—and that the nation or their legislators, should keep so badly even to their own maxims and principles; so that if they gain your heart by their *words*, they so soon lose it again by their *deeds*.—This is all among the products of previous despotism, and will gradually vanish with him. We all preach better than we practise; and still more so, in the infant, weaken'd, or vicious state, either of the individual, or of the species or society:—And the different degrees of morality or strength of mind, from infancy to the highest maturity, might be measured by our success or firmness in keeping our conduct up to the acknowledged principles, or to our own precepts, of justice.—The practice of republicans has always been readily brought up the highest, and nearest to these principles. But the whole French nation will probably now be too much and too long held in horror and hatred for the barbarism and cruelty of a few, which will be industriously magnified by their enemies,—who might otherwise soon cure them of this and of most of their follies—by *peace*, but never by *war*, which only makes them worse, and is an aggravation of evil, and a cure for nothing.—Many of them seem already to know some of the essentials of good government, and must thence acquire the rest, if *let alone*.—They know that all power, revenue, salaries, must be in *minima*, or the least possible, both in quantity and duration; and that all power must be therefore well divided, especially the *legislative* and *executive*;—and also all offices, none to have above one, and to be frequently changed.—And they will in time discover that the necessary controul or watch of the people over their government, must be by *deputies*, and not by *themselves*.—If government should still bribe or seduce their watch, they must still work at both ends;—diminish its power, and send other watch, from some always ready and improving source,—still more dependent on the people, their electors;—thus diminishing the powers, means, and chances, of temptation,—and also by a proper choice and changes, &c.—Our English watch, the H. of Commons, (and even *opposition*) is evidently bought, seduced in various ways by government, and become inadequate to its original or intended purpose. (See p. 177.)

The French improving system of elections, once habitually in use, may probably cure most of the evils of government; and extend throughout, and save and improve, mankind. When or in what cases the people should act, 1. by deputy, and when, 2. by themselves, will produce many essential problems yet to be solved. The 1. to be the *least*, and 2. the *most* possible, for the general

general good, is an obvious truth, a limit of importance to begin with.

The 1st who emigrated or ran away from France, on their late revolution, for the fools of that *nation indotoniere* to follow, was the most to blame.—So bad an example, and none else, should be punished—if such punishment could now be of any service.

When ministers and governments can see and adopt some of these important truths, the world may be at peace. Till then, all their treaties will be but truces. Tho' this is probably now just what they mean them to be, we may hope they will learn better, in time, and to see the fruitless folly of such systems,—and of cunning,—and of despotism and war.—But 'tis melancholy to see so many ignorant people, (and for our national disgrace, so high in life and in office) who, in the stupid cant of the day, affect to laugh at *philosophers*, and their *fine-spun theories*, as they ignorantly stile them, but without knowing what a theory or theorem is or means.—Hence this now ignorant, sordid, selfish, and corrupted nation is travelling so fast—to *its ruin*.—The 1st or only comfortable idea that occurs in this train is,—that this swing of the vibration must soon be at the lowest, and then must rise again:—the folly and wickedness of the present measures and views of despotism must soon become evident to a majority; and this then naturally humane nation will be gradually enlightened, and will steadily set about putting things to rights, as they learn humanity and justice.

One of the best elements of *peace* would probably be *intermarriages* between the individuals of different nations: a number of women might easily be exchanged for that purpose; and then many tradesmen, artists, &c. Much better this, than the intermarriages between sovereign families; nay, those become doubly dangerous, and perhaps now an efficacious part of the system of *universal despotism*. And all permanent ranks and distinctions by the blind chance of birth, and especially that of sovereigns, become gradually useless, burdensome, pernicious, hateful, &c.—as men improve, and thence approach equality.

The terms and ideas of *Whig* and *Tory*, the latter with now to banish—perhaps yet a little ashamed and afraid to show their slavish doctrine in all its comparative and intrinsic ugliness. Some of them probably begin to be afraid of the consequences of their late imprudence in letting out so many of their principles as they have lately and insolently dared to avow, (and which will in time, probably, ruin their system.) Their despotic views and doctrines now known,—the American and this war, &c. &c. which they have brought upon us, can hardly ever now be forgot, and must inevitably sink them at last. And when reform begins, be it hasty or slow, partial or radical, to be sure there is no knowing where it will stop, as they observe;—nor ought it ever to stop. The mad attempts to stop—even the *best*, will only tend to precipitate
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the worst kinds of reform.—If these Tory people could possibly be taught,—how many obvious and excellent lessons of this kind might be given them!—But they seem obstinately incorrigible, and to invite violence,—by which they will certainly suffer.

Thus we naturally revert to one of the most important ideas for us to retain, viz.—that without some essential change or reform in our principles, both of domestic and foreign policy, our government and empire will gradually, but probably now quickly, fall to pieces.—Our intellectual liberty, or freedom of the press, is gone, and the people enslaved to the debasing degree of accusing, and destroying each other, and even their benefactors. Representation is gone, and we are insolently told—that we have no right to it:—and these are certainly the two essential objects to every Briton.—Our empire is fast going;—already begun by the falling off of America, and will probably proceed through Ireland and Scotland, according to M. Kieth's prophecy.

The French and their affairs are ofteneft the uppermost here, and in most minds of late;—being perhaps the most important and interesting object ever seen in the world. But to see them rightly, a nearer view would be necessary, but of which we are now unjustly deprived.—Perhaps the accumulation of all the species of injustice in the world is necessary, and may be the means of bringing us to see the necessity of returning to justice, as the only means or road to happiness.

Every one will find he has a way of his own, when free and wise enough to follow it.—To think successfully on this, the French, or any subject, we may find that it must be taken up at different times, as here. The present contest, being the greatest ever seen, must produce important truths and consequences. Though the progress or fruits of reason be slow, they will be sure:—the seeds are sown. Though few of its effects or conversions may yet appear, and though the present accursed mode of decision by violence, may probably end, as usual, in a kind of drawn battle; yet the rising generation will probably have seen enough to chuse to be just and free; and nothing else is wanting but that choice. They will most likely gather some of the important truths and consequences:—they may perceive the flimsy and insecure texture of all complication, in politics as in nature, and the then obvious impossibility of any perpetual balance or equipoise of opposing active powers, and may thence be led back to simplicity:—they may see the impenetrability of nature by any of our faculties, or of any possible human knowledge of first causes, and may thence be incited and directed to the investigation of what they can know. The discovery of our ignorance may soon be one of the next steps in our progress:—(and a very advanced and important step it is.)—We may begin to perceive that neither our terms nor ideas of design or accident, nor perhaps any thing on that scale, between or beyond those limits, will suit with the actual

actual state of things or *universe*;—but perhaps some other order or scale, or, &c. of which we can have no idea, and still less of its consequences. Nature or universe works not probably by such weak crutches or tools as ours, viz. by thought, memory or *mind*. It was not *God* who made man according to his own image, but v. v. *man* who always makes his *Gods* according to his own. We may perhaps learn not to go on without or before, to believe but according to, *evidence*.—The pleasing prospect of the future progress of human nature will be one of the most exquisite pleasures of thoughtful and elegant minds.

Despotism and a thousand *Cromwells* seem now at work to impede or prevent the completion of the *French Constitution*;—perhaps afraid, like him, of the general felicity, and of losing their fancied harvest of mischief or domination. While the people are so ignorant as to be so easily misled into war and violence by sc—ls, and cannot see that these are the measures of the combination formed against them and freedom, by *monarchy*, *theocracy*, and *aristocracy*, who hire *Marats*, &c. to mislead them to ruin their own cause by their excesses,—what can be hoped from such a people?—Can they ever be taught to judge and elect moderation and wisdom, abandon violence, and to try justice with humanity? Yes they may and will, in time. The extremes of Jacobinism there, and Toryism here, must ever inevitably quarrel: we must get rid of (at least the lead of) both, before we can hope for peace or happiness;—but must carefully avoid *punishing* either; and by time and patience, convert them to reason; and then, together, teach the people the lessons they want.

We see the *knaves* must still lead the *fools*: and while these two classes can make a majority, and the enemies of the people can contrive to make them destroy one another, we shall have war and violence whenever practicable or possible to finance or contribution; and thence the strongest or richest, not the wisest, yet a while prevail. However, all are reformable—improvable by *time*, *pains* and *patience*; but not by *punishment* or *war*, which will therefore be abolished in time. In periods of commotion, the scum—the blackguards may repeatedly get uppermost, but they cannot long remain there, and must be displaced—relieved by real merit; or be themselves reformed or improved. Is there no medium to settle in, between complete systems of tyranny or freedom? Must the French now either go on to this extreme, or back to monarchy?—to kings, popes, inquisitions, nobles and despotism? Not only all *these*, but most of our timid courtiers, tories sycophants proprietors &c. are beginning to think that they and we all ought to go back; and that every kind of freedom is dangerous and diabolical.—But all or most may soon begin to see their error;—and that *monarchy* is not to be *limited*:—it will therefore disappear, with war and violence, before the light of reason.—However, it may be feared that these poor

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French cannot yet succeed, till they grow a little wiser,—till they can elect the *best* and procure *peace*;—and can remove their *legislature* from the dominion of a Parisian mob, and divide it into two, or take some effectual methods of prolonging and tempering their deliberations, *Truth* will yet arise, from calm discussion, though not from hot dispute. They must learn to beware of all *combinations*, and even of *opposition* to combinations,—of armies and of Jacobins,—of *democratic* as of *aristocratic* misleaders; and to dissolve them all into society again, like our juries, when their work is done; but they must also learn sufficient (and only sufficient) *confidence* in the leaders of their own choice.

People too soon fancy that *all* has been said on any subject. The subject of government is now only beginning, while the silly people think it exhausted.—But we can now only prepare some of what should and may be said, when we recover liberty to speak and think,—if ever we do again: happily the wisest think we *must*; and that this *tyranny* cannot last; and that *light* is now too widely diffused to be extinguished by a few foolish Tories or despots,—or even by all the dark powers that can now be mustered on that side against it.

It is also ever to be remembered that the conquest, (or mitigation at least,) of *avarice* and *ambition*, is not to be given up in despair. They must and will be attacked in all their varying shapes, against all the strength and auxiliaries of their powerful modern reign. They must either *vanquish* or be *vanquished*, probably during the present crisis of the world, which must now soon either recover essentially, or sink back into perhaps a long period of declining despotism, and thence barbarism, &c.

One of the most threatening difficulties in the practice of *representation* may be that of deciding—*who* have the right of election?—Perhaps men may be persuaded to be wise enough not to claim all their rights *at once*, nor yet to give them up.—Though clear that every one arrived at years of discretion has a right of suffrage, yet out of compliance to the present timid—spoilt proprietors, the *poor* may be brought to receive this right—only by *degrees*. The *right of voting* may, for a time, be acquired—conferred only by *marriage*, as a very safe, useful, and now necessary step in our political progress: each man, on undertaking the care of a family, becomes thereby more than sufficiently interested in the welfare of the state, to become a citizen and a voter: this might have better effects on *population*, *industry*, *virtue*, than all the other means invented by Romans or moderns for these purposes.

Such is our crop of ideas and opinions on some of the subjects of most importance to man, gathered where we could, and as nearly *up to the day* and to *truth* as we can yet reach:—but we cannot promise for their being the same to-morrow. We are

happy (not alarmed) to perceive this accelerating progress in the human mind. 'Tis only the *alarm* of the timid, spoiled possessors of the first seats in society that creates any danger. If they could be quiet, and fall in with the stream of the day, and leave the result to the *war of words*, all would end well.—The varying opinions, errors and proceedings of our neighbours can only reach us in safety, and properly purified, through the medium of mind, or fair and free reasoning: war or violence cannot stop them, and can only serve to transmit them disfigured and distorted, and thence dangerous in their effects.

This strange *little book*,—a confused collection of hints and ideas, written and printed (hastily though) at different and distant times, (in about a year,) may yet some day be given to the public, to whom we think that we (and every body) owe all our ideas and opinions which we may fancy of any importance to them;—and without any apology for want of stile or arrangement, which were never intended, nor thought to be of that importance given to such trifling considerations by the spoiled taste and learning of the day. If a few of these ideas are good and important (as probable) it is all that can be expected; they cannot all be equal in importance or effects: others may improve on this (we think) important plan, viz. of giving freely to the whole public, all the useful or essentials that we know or think on any subject in the least possible compass. We have not time to be more brief; or perhaps all this might be still more abridged or concentrated; though this size is not very voluminous. *Par des sous entendus*, &c. language,—the science of communication, may yet be much improved;—at once both strengthened and abbreviated. This familiar *little way* of talking about *great things* has met with the approbation of some good judges, and they may seduce others from the stilted stinking *taste* of the times, for false finery and bombast, and which may thence gradually wear out again. Nor do the authors or *vehicles* of these ideas care much about the present public approbation, till the general taste or judgement is more rectified and improved. Differing so widely from the present apparent *majority*, they would rather seek, perhaps, for its disapprobation as a surer sign of their being right;—till more symptoms of reform, more wisdom, justice and humanity shall appear in our public and private proceedings. The public is often foolishly flattered, but seldom treated with proper sincerity. We have attempted to tell J. B. a few of such truths as he ought to have been more accustomed to hear. If we think him, as yet, either a vulgar ignorant *savage*;—a sordid, tricking rapacious *pedlar*;—or a corrupted, mean dependent and dastardly *slave*; why should not we tell him so? He ought to know where he is, before he can get into the right road. As yet, little above a mere animal; his guts or his money seem hitherto his chief objects, and sensuality in some shape to engross, debase or annihilate his *mind*.—Why should the really dignified titles of *philosophy*, *wisdom* or *virtue* be prostituted with impunity upon triflers, r—s or fools?—or on a state or *constitution* of society which produces hardly any thing but vice, conceit and ignorance,—and the extremes equally wretched, of luxury and rags, of high and low debauch?—but never a *Themistocles*, nor an *Aristides*, a *Timoleon*, a *Phocion*, a *Scipio*, a *Cato*, or a *Brutus*,—still less a *Plato*, a *Socrates* or a *Lycurgus*;—nor almost any really true and useful science, virtue or happiness?

But this *little book* may also merit great attention on account of the *great good* that has been actually done on these principles, even by *Jesuits, Quakers and Moravians*; probably already more than by any other principles, since those of ancient *Greece and Rome*; and the whole world may yet be raised and reformed by them, when applied by philosophy and wisdom.—A world to the *wife* was always supposed sufficient, and such (viz. the wife) are perhaps the only minds worth assisting to dig deep or soar high. Those who cannot take a hint from such a book, will not probably take much from any thing; nor would they be much forwarded by laborious detail or order: but such as we here wish, probably most minds are, i. e. sufficiently wise or capable of wisdom, when they can be made to think so, and to try their strength. All who can learn a language, are probably equal to every thing necessary for their own or the public service. Nothing but the proper *motives* are wanting, and which legislators may easily find, when they chuse, and shall deign to study and look rightly into the human mind.

Let us all then go on and try to acquire right ideas of ourselves,—of *human nature*,—a science of the first importance, and (strange !) yet in infancy. Amid its uncertainties, the most favourable and hopeful opinions of our nature and success are probably the most advantageous. The species being clearly capable of a progress, it may confidently be hoped they will not always be such shocking, snarling selfish animals as the majority hitherto. Forced by their nature, by their wants to be gregarious and live together, and thence each to assist some others for his own sake, we may hope they will learn to do it with a better grace and more effect than the best of us yet;—and not always so unconsciously and insensibly, at best; and without even the merit of intention; and as if unwilling to see how much they are mutually indebted and connected, in order to be more at liberty to devour each other;—not for ever assembled, so many of them, into such shocking discordant heaps or unwholesome towns; and there, not so much with a view to assist, as insidiously to deceive and prey upon, one another; or into armies or competitors, employed entirely in dealing out direct distress and destruction: so that though *much* remains yet to be done, in *civilization and humanization*, that *much* is all practicable and within human hope: let us search for the means and animate each other with the idea and future prospect: and foresee that from the present ill connected, and inimical swarms of *human reptiles*, small societies of great felicity may yet be formed. It is of real importance to turn the general attention towards these general and individual, and absolutely necessary improvements, and to view the paths by which we *must* advance.

The life of man is hitherto only one continued *infantine school*, full of suffering and vain research; where they die mere children

children at last, ignorant of what they wish most to know, regretting so much fleeting human happiness just in view,—and too often and too justly bewailing the misery, cruelty and injustice of their hard fate. We may surely hope, through knowledge and virtue, obviously increasing, yet to produce some right mode of society, where we may gradually approach the age of *maturity*; or learn at least to be less selfish, less savage, cruel and unjust to one another, and at last,—to *make each other HAPPY*;



ERRATA

PAGE. LINE.

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| 1 | 1 | For advertisement, read letter. |
| 5 | 4 | Dele now. |
| 6 | 10 | For read foundations. |
| 11 | 7 | — will be, read became. |
| 11 | 12 | — actual, read natural. |
| 12 | 2 | — have, read leave. |
| 19 | 6 | — volubility, read versatility. |
| 23 | 18 | Before organization, insert present. |
| 27 | 18 | For comfortable, read conformable. |
| 29 | 10 | After constitution, insert (10). |
| 33 | 9 | Dele they. |
| 40 | 5 | Before will, insert distrust. |
| 53 | 10 | For actors, read artists. |
| 78 | 15 | — they, read she. |
| 84 | 3 | Dele it, — 81 11 † in objects, dele it. |
| 131 | 10 | For possessed, read professed. |
| 134 | 21 | For from, read for. |
| 161 | 21 | For spurious, read specious. |

